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*JOTTINGS FROM JAIL.*

## REVIEWS ON THE FIRST EDITION.

"In his reprints of prison articles there are some gems. Take for example this, 'The prison world is not much better than the external world of undetected persons.' No one has a better right to speak of prisons and their inhabitants than Mr. Horsley."—*Athenaeum*.

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# JOTTINGS FROM JAIL

*NOTES AND PAPERS ON PRISON  
MATTERS*

*John William*

BY THE

REV. J. W. HORSLEY, M.A., OXON.

LATE AND LAST CHAPLAIN OF HER MAJESTY'S PRISON  
CLERKENWELL

SECOND THOUSAND

London

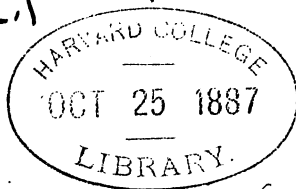
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*Moist Land.*

## PREFACE.

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THESE jottings from jail are just what their name implies. Time certainly, ability probably, was and is wanting, if I contemplated something more ambitious, a more detailed record of the experiences and observation of a decade spent as a chaplain of a metropolitan prison into which there came about an hundred thousand men, women, and children of all sorts and conditions, from the wholesale murderer to the child remanded only to be helped out of misery into the possibility and prospect of happiness and usefulness. These are but notes that I made from time to time, or articles or papers that were produced on sundry occasions and for divers audiences whom I wished to interest in the phenomena of crime in order that they might work for its prevention or cure. One paper was read before a Church Congress, another before a Social Science Congress. Other parts of the book have appeared, more or less in their present form, in the *Fortnightly Review*, *Macmillan's Magazine*, *Sunday Magazine*, *Eastward Ho!* *The Echo*, *The Banner*, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, and *The Church of England Temperance Chronicle*.

My aim is to remove that ignorance of what our



prisons and prisoners are, which in our grandsires' days was the hardly excusable excuse for the existence of iniquities now inconceivable ; to create or sustain more interest in, and sympathy for, a large but often forgotten or despised class of our brethren, and to suggest ways in which all in their several stations should feel their responsibility for the existence of crime and sin and misery, and so labour for the removal or prevention of all that makes these evils common and almost inevitable. One frequently hears a story of John Bradford quoted with approval, in which it is said that, seeing a condemned criminal on his way to Tyburn Tree, he exclaimed, "There, but for the grace of God, goes John Bradford." Many, perhaps most, have not yet reached that level, but Pharisaically condemn those who have succumbed to forces and temptations from which their judges have been free. Few are those who understand that a better and truer utterance of the Puritan worthy would have been : "There goes one for whose state John Bradford is partly responsible !" So knit together are all lives, so true is it for good or evil that "no man liveth to himself," so really and effectually do sins of omission, as well as—even more than—those of commission, injure our neighbour, that the thought of every Christian who hears of evil or sees the criminal should not merely be, "Thou art my brother and I am bound to help thee," but also "Am I free from thy blood ?" One result, at any rate, of my prison work remains, in that I have called into being an earnest band of some hundreds who have pledged themselves to remember daily in prayer the needs of prisoners. The rules of their Guild will be found at the end of the book.

The article, "Christmas in Prison," is only in fancy

written by a prisoner. It is an exact record of what a prisoner would have experienced and might have felt on one of the Christmas Days we spent together in Clerkenwell. The sermon therein is a fair sample as regards length and matter of the eight a week I used to deliver.

I have to thank Miss Manville Fenn for the design for the cover. It represents a selection from my private collection of burglarious implements; some jemmies or sticks (Anglice, crowbars), one of which was presented me by him whose autobiography opens this book because he thought "it would be safer with me than with him;" some twirls or skels (skeleton keys and picklocks); a wedge for securing doors from the inside, a steel one for safe work; some neddies or life-preservers; and the firearms that it has become fashionable to carry, more out of bravado and because the mock-hero Peace (a canting old liar when under my care) used one than from any determination or desire to use them.

I dedicate these notes to the memory of John Howard, the king of philanthropists, and of John Clay, of Preston, the prince of prison-chaplains.

J. W. HORSLEY.

*February, 1887.*



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I.

*AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A THIEF, IN  
THIEVES' SLANG.*

ONE of the first needs of a missionary is to learn the language of those to whom he is sent, though at home to talk in a tongue "understanded of the people" is an accomplishment some teachers would seem to neglect, and others even to despise. The object of speech is not merely to express our thoughts, but to express them so that they may be understood, and therefore helpful. And to this end we must understand, frequently, not only our own language or dialect, but that also of those to whom we speak. To evince a knowledge of their ordinary, if peculiar, forms of speech is frequently a compliment, a bond of sympathy, an evidence of our not wishing to assume a higher level for ourselves than that our friends can reach. And a supercilious contempt for what is inaccurate or vulgar in speech will often cut off from us not only opportunities for being brotherly and useful, but also the knowledge of error which we can lovingly correct, and even of sin which we can do something to reprove, or check, or prevent.

Any one who has had the privilege of working amongst the lower or criminal class of our great towns will speedily

become aware of the existence of a strange tongue, an ignorance of which will militate against his perfect knowledge of the state and needs of those whom he wishes to befriend. This was one of the first tasks I set myself in beginning prison work—to learn thieves' slang; and in it I was greatly aided by my intercourse, on both sides of the walls, with the writer of the following autobiography. Any one who gains this accomplishment, if such it may be called, will find many points of interest in that strange collection of words which goes by the name of cant, argot, or thieves' slang. It has its antiquity, as well as its vitality and power of growth and development by constant accretion; in it are preserved many words interesting to the student of language, and from it have passed not a few words into the ordinary stock of the Queen's English. Of multifold origin, it is yet mainly derived from Romany or gipsy talk, and thereby contains a large Eastern element in which old Sanscrit roots may readily be traced. Many of these words would be unintelligible to ordinary folk, but some have passed into common speech. For instance, the words bamboozle, daddy, pal, (companion or friend), mull (to make a mull or mess of a thing), bosh (from the Persian), are pure gipsy words, but have found some lodging, if not a home, in our vernacular. Then there are survivals (not always of the fittest) from the tongue of our Teutonic ancestors, so that Dr. Latham, the philologist, says: "The thieves of London" (and he might still more have said the professional tramps) "are the conservators of Anglo-Saxonisms." Next, there are the cosmopolitan absorptions from many a tongue. From the French *bouilli* we probably get the prison slang term "bull" for a ration of meat. Chat, thieves' slang for house, is obviously *chateau*.

Steel, the familiar name for Coldbath Fields Prison, is an appropriation and abbreviation of Bastile ; and he who "does a tray" (serves three months' imprisonment) therein, borrows his word from our Gallican neighbours. So from the Italian we get *casa* for house, filly (*figlia*) for daughter, donny (*donna*) for woman, and omee (*uomo*) for man. The Spanish gives us *don*, which the Universities have not despised as a useful term. From the German we get durrynacker, for a female hawker, from *dorf*, "a village," and *nachgehen*, "to run after." From Scotland we borrow *duds*, for clothes, and from the Hebrew *shoful*, for base coin.

Purely of native manufacture, however, and entirely artificial, are the two classes of rhyming and back-slang which mingle with cant to make a whole. By the former any word that rhymes with the one you mean to use is put in its place, and gradually becomes accepted. This has the merit of unintelligibility when it is desired not to let chance passers by know of what we are speaking, which naturally occurs not seldom in the days of detectives and plain-clothes constables. Suppose I have "touched" (*i.e.*, been successful in some robbery), and feel inclined for some relaxation in company with my sweetheart (or one of them), I might address her thus : "Come, cows and kisses, put the battle of the Nile on your Barnet Fair, and a rogue and villain in your sky-rocket ; call a flounder and dab with a tidy Charing Cross, and we'll go for a Bushey Park along the frog and toad into the live eels." This would apparently be but a pendant to the celebrated bit of nonsense extemporized by Foote, but, as a matter of fact, to a master or mistress of rhyming slang it would at once be understood as : "Come, missus, put a tile (hat) on your hair, and a



shilling in your pocket; call a cab with a tidy horse, and we'll go for a lark along the road into the fields."

And the second class of manufactured slang is that largely patronized by costermongers. It is called back-slang, and simply consists of spelling (more or less accurately) words backwards. Thus, "Hi, yob! kool that enif eirig with the nael ekom. Sap her a top o' reeb and a tib of occabot," is only, "Hi, boy! look at that fine girl with the lean moke (donkey). Pass her a pot of beer and a bit of tobacco." The art or merit of this form or slang consists in the rapidity, often most remarkable, with which such words can be reversed. Thus a gentleman, wishing to test the skill of a professor of the art with a word not in common use in the market, asked his coster friend what was the back-slang for hippopotamus. At once he answered, "Sumatopppy," the *y* being euphoniouly put for *ih*.

Considering that in the manufacture of the domestic and social slang of nicknames or pet names not a little humour or wit is commonly found, it might be imagined that thieves' slang would be a great treasure-house of humorous expression. That this is not the case arises from the fact that there is very little glitter even in what they take for gold, and that their life is mainly one of miserable anxiety, suspicion, and fear; forced and gin-inspired is their merriment, and dismal, for the most part, are their faces when not assuming an air of bravado which deceives not even their companions. Some traces of humour are to be found in certain euphemisms, such as the delicate expression "fingersmith" as descriptive of a trade which a blunt world might call that of a pickpocket. Or, again, to get three months' hard labour is more pleasantly described as getting thirteen clean shirts, one

being served out in prison each week. The tread-wheel, again, is more politely called the everlasting staircase, or the wheel of life, or the vertical care-grinder. Penal servitude is dignified with the appellation of serving Her Majesty for nothing; and even an attempt is made to lighten the horror of the climax of a criminal career by speaking of dying in a horse's nightcap, *i.e.*, a halter.

With this preface I transcribe, and interpret, the following autobiography, which is both authentic and true. I had many opportunities of testing its truth in various ways, while I succeeded in inducing the writer to pursue the less exciting and lucrative occupation of a teetotal costermonger. Unfortunately the charms, first of betting, then of drinking, and then of stealing, revived in him, and he is now in penal servitude. It is a typical career that might be that of hundreds in East London. He says:—

I was born in 1853 at Stamford Hill, Middlesex. My parents removed from there to Stoke Newington, when I was sent to an infant school. Some time afterwards I was taken by two pals (companions) to an orchard to cop (steal) some fruit, me being a mug (inexperienced) at the game. This got to my father's ears; when I went home he set about me with a strap until he was tired. He thought that was not enough, but tied me to a bedstead—you may be sure what followed. I got loose, tied a blanket and a counterpane together, fastened it to the bedstead, and let myself out of the window, and did not go home that night, but met my two pals and dossed (slept) in a haystack. Early next morning my pals said they knew where we could get some toke (food), and took me to a terrace; we went down the dancers (steps)

to a safe, and cleared it out. Two or three days after I met my mother, who in tears begged of me to go home, so I went home. My parents moved to Clapton; when they sent me to school, my pals used to send stiff (notes) to the schoolmaster, saying that I was wanted at home; but instead of that we used to go and smug snowy (steal linen) that was hung out to dry, or rob the bakers' barrows. Things went from bad to worse, so I was obliged to leave home again. This time I palled in with some older hands at the game, who used to take me a parlour-jumping (robbing rooms), putting me in where the windows was open. I used to take anything there was to steal, and at last they told me all about wedge (silver plate), how I should know it by the ramp (hall-mark—rampant lion?); we used to break it up in small pieces and sell it to watchmakers, and afterwards to a fence (buyer of stolen goods) down the Lane (Petticoat Lane). Two or three times a week I used to go to the Brit. (Britannia Theatre) in Hoxton, or the Gaff (penny music-room) in Shoreditch. I used to steal anything to make money to go to these places. Some nights I used to sleep at my pals' houses, sometimes in a shed where there was a fire kept burning night and day. All this time I had escaped the hands of the reelers (police), but one day I was taken for robbing a baker's cart, and got twenty-one days. While there I made pals with another one who came from Shoreditch, and promised to meet him when we got out, which I did, and we used to go together, and left the other pals at Clapton.

At last, one day we was at St. John's Wood, I went in after some wedge; while picking some up off the table, I frightened a cat, which upset a lot of plates when jumping out of the window. So I was taken and tried

at Marylebone Police Court, and sent to Feltham Industrial School. I had not been there a month before I planned with another boy to guy (run away), and so we did, but was stopped at Brentford, and took back to the school, for which we got twelve strokes with the birch. I thought when I first went there that I knew a great deal about thieving, but I found there was some there that knew more, and I used to pal in with those that knew the most. One day, while talking with a boy, he told me he was going home in a day or so; he said his friends was going to claim him out because he was more than sixteen years old. When my friends came to see me I told them that they could claim me out, and with a good many fair promises that I would lead a new life if they did so, they got me out of the school. When I got home I found a great change in my father, who had taken to drink, and he did not take so much notice of what I done as he used. I went on all straight the first few moons (months) at costering. One day there was a *fête* at Clapton, and I was coming home with my kipsy (basket); I had just sold all my goods out, I just stopped to pipe (see) what was going on when a reeler came up to me and rapped (said), "Now, —, you had better guy, or else I shall give you a drag (three months in prison)." So I said, "All right," but he rapped, "It is not all right, I don't want any sauce from you, or else I shall set about (beat) you myself;" so I said, "What for? I have done nothing; do you want to get it up for me?" Then he began to push me about, so I said I would not go at all if he put his dukes (hands) on me. Then he rammed my nut (head) against the wall, and shook the very life out of me. This got a scuff (crowd) round us, and the people ask him what he was knocking me about for, so

he said, "This is young ——, just come home from a schooling" (a term in a reformatory). So he did not touch me again; so I went home, turned into kip (bed), and could not get up for two or three days because he had given me such a shaking, him being a great powerful man, and me only a little fellow. I still went on all straight until things got very dear at the market. I had been down three or four days running, and could not buy anything to earn a deaner (shilling) out of. So one morning I found I did not have more than a caser (5s.) for stock-pieces (stock-money). So I thought to myself, What shall I do? I said, "I know what I will do. I will go to London Bridge rattler (railway), and take a deaner ride and go a wedge-hunting" (stealing plate). So I took a ducat (ticket) for Sutton in Surrey, and went a wedge-hunting. I had not been at Sutton very long before I piped a slavey (servant) come out of a chat (house), so when she had got a little way up the double (turning), I pratted (went) in the house. When inside I could not see any wedge laying about in the kitchen, so I screwed my nut into the washhouse, and I piped three or four pair of daisy-roots (boots). So I claimed (stole) them and took off the lid of my kipsy and put them inside, put a cloth over them, and then put the lid on again, put the kipsy on my back as though it was empty, and guyed to the rattler and took a brief (ticket) to London Bridge, and took the daisies to a sheney (Jew) down the Gaff, and done them for thirty blow (shillings). The next day I took the rattler to Forest Hill, and touched for (succeeded in getting) some wedge, and a kipsy full of clobber (clothes). You may be sure this gave me a little pluck, so I kept on at the old game, only with this difference, that I got more pieces (money) for

the wedge. I got three and a sprat (3s. 6d.) an ounce. But afterwards I got 3s. 9d., and then four blow. I used to get a good many pieces about this time, so I used to clobber myself up and go to the concert-rooms. But although I used to go to these places I never used to drink any beer for some time afterwards. It was while using one of these places I first met a sparring bloke (pugilist), who taught me how to spar, and showed me the way to put my dukes up. But after a time I gave him best (left him) because he used to want to bite my ear (borrow) too often. It was while I was with him that I got in company with some of the widest (cleverest) people in London. They used to use at (frequent) a pub in Shoreditch. The following people used to go in there—toy-getters (watch-stealers), magsmen (confidence-trick men), men at the mace (sham loan offices), broadsmen (card-sharpers), peter-claimers (box-stealers), busters and screwsmen (burglars), snide-pitchers (utterers of false coin), men at the duff (passing false jewellery), welshers (turf-swindlers), and skittle-sharps. Being with this nice mob (gang) you may be sure what I learned. I went out at the game three or four times a week, and used to touch almost every time. I went on like this for very near a stretch (year) without being smugged (apprehended). One night I was with the mob I got canon (drunk), this being the first time. After this, when I used to go to concert-rooms, I used to drink beer. It was at one of these places down Whitechapel I palled in with a trip and stayed with her until I got smugged. One day I was at Blackheath I got very near canon, and when I went into a place I claimed two wedge spoons, and was just going up the dancers, a slavey piped the spoons sticking out of my skyrocket (pocket), so I got

smuggled. While at the station they asked me what my monarch (name) was. A reeler came to the cell and cross-kidded (questioned) me, but I was too wide for him. I was tried at Greenwich; they ask the reeler if I was known, and he said no. So I was sent to Maidstone Stir (prison) for two moon. When I came out the trip I had been living with had sold the home and guyed; that did not trouble me much. The only thing that spurred (annoyed) me was me being such a flat to buy the home. The mob got me up a break (collection), and I got between five or six foont (sovereigns), so I did not go out at the game for about a moon.

The first day that I went out I went to Slough and touched for a wedge kipsy, with 120 ounces of wedge in it, for which I got nineteen quid (sovereigns). Then I carried on a nice game. I used to get canon every night. I done things now what I should have been ashamed to do before I took to that accursed drink. It was now that I got acquainted with the use of twirls (skeleton-keys).

A little time after this I fell (was taken up) again at St. Mary Cray for being found at the back of a house, and got two moon at Bromley Petty Sessions as a rogue and vagabond; and I was sent to Maidstone, this being the second time within a stretch. When I fell this time I had between four and five quid found on me, but they gave it me back, so I was landed (was all right) this time without them getting me up a lead (a collection).

I did not fall again for a stretch. This time I got two moon for assaulting the reelers when canon. For this I went to the Steel (Bastile—Coldbath Fields Prison), having a new suit of clobber on me and about fifty blow

in my brigh (pocket). When I came out I went at the same old game.

One day I went to Croydon and touched for a red toy (gold watch) and red tackle (gold chain) with a large locket. So I took the rattler home at once. When I got into Shoreditch I met one or two of the mob, who said, "Hallo, been out to-day? Did you touch?" So I said, "Usher" (yes). So I took them in and we all got canon. When I went to the fence he bested (cheated) me because I was drunk, and only gave me £8 10s. for the lot. So the next day I went to him and asked him if he was not going to grease my duke (put money into my hand). So he said, "No." Then he said, "I will give you another half-a-quid;" and said, "Do anybody, but mind they don't do you." So I thought to myself, "All right, my lad; you will find me as good as my master," and left him.

Some time after that affair with the fence, one of the mob said to me, "I have got a place cut and dried; will you come and do it?" So I said, "Yes; what tools will you want?" And he said, "We shall want some twirls and the stick (crowbar), and bring a Neddie (life preserver) with you." And he said, "Now don't stick me up (disappoint); meet me at six to-night." At six I was at the meet (trysting-place), and while waiting for my pal I had my daisies cleaned, and I piped the fence that bested me go along with his old woman (wife) and his two kids (children), so I thought of his own words, "Do anybody, but mind they don't do you." He was going to the Surrey Theatre; so when my pal came up I told him all about it. So we went and screwed (broke into) his place, and got thirty-two quid and a toy and tackle, which he had bought on the crook (dishonestly). We did not go



and do the other place after that. About two moon after this the same fence fell for buying two finns (£5 notes), for which he got a stretch and a half.

A little while after this I fell at Isleworth for being found in a conservatory adjoining a parlour, and got remanded to the Tench (House of Detention) for nine days, but neither Snuffy (Reeves, the identifier) nor Mac (Macintyre) knew me, so I got a drag, and was sent to the Steel. While I was in there I see the fence who we done, and he held his duke at me as much as to say, "I would give you something if I could;" but I only laughed at him.

I was out about seven moon, when one night a pal of mine was half-drunk, and said something to a copper (policeman) which he did not like, so he hit my pal, so I hit him in return. So we both set about him. He pulled out his staff, and hit me on the nut, and cut it open. Then two or three more coppers came up, and we got smugged, and got a sixer (six months) each. So I see the fence again in Stir.

On the Boxing Day after I came out I got stabbed in the chest by a pal of mine who had done a schooling. We was out with one another all the day getting drunk, so he took a liberty with me, and I landed him one on the conk (nose), so we had a fight, and he put the chive (knife) into me. This made me sober, so I asked him what made him such a coward. He said, "I meant to kill you; let me go and kiss my wife and child, and then smug me." But I did not do that. This made me a little thoughtful of the sort of life I was carrying on. I thought, "What if I should have been killed then!" But this, like other things, soon passed away.

After the place got well where I was chived, me and another screwed a place at Stoke Newington, and we

got some squeeze (silk) dresses and two sealskin jackets, and some other things. We tied them in a bundle and got on a tram. It appears they knew my pal; and some reelers got up too. So when I piped them pipe the bundle, I put my dukes on the rails of the tram and dropped off, and gayed down a double before you could say Jack Robinson. It was a good job I did, or else I should of got lagged (sent to penal servitude), and my pal, too, because I had the James (crowbar) and screws (skeleton-keys) on me. My pal got a stretch and a half.

A day or two after this I met the fence who I done; so he said to me, "We have met at last." So I said, "Well, what of that?" So he said, "What did you want to do me for?" So I said, "You must remember you done me, and when I spoke to you about it you said, 'Do anybody, but mind they don't do you.'" That shut him up.

One day I went to Lewisham and touched for a lot of wedge. I tore up my madam (handkerchief) and tied the wedge in small packets and put them into my pockets. At Bishopsgate Street I left my kipsy at a barber's shop, where I always left it when not in use. I was going through Shoreditch, when a reeler from Hackney, who knew me well, came up and said, "I am going to run the rule over (search) you." You could have knocked me down with a feather, me knowing what I had about me. Then he said, "It's only my joke; are you going to treat me?" So I said "Yes," and began to be very saucy, saying to him, "What catch would it be if you was to turn me over?" So I took him into a pub which had a back way out, and called for a pint of stout, and told the reeler to wait a minute. He did not know that there was an entrance at the back; so I gayed up to Hoxton to

the mob and told them all about it. Then I went and done the wedge for five-and-twenty quid.

One or two days after this I met the reeler at Hackney, and he said, "What made you guy?" So I said that I did not want my pals to see me with him. So he said it was all right. Some of the mob knew him and had greased his duke.

What I am about to relate now took place within the last four or five moon before I fell for this stretch and a half. One day I went to Surbiton. I see a reeler giving me a roasting (watching me), so I began to count my pieces for a jolly (pretence), but he still followed me ; so at last I rang a bell and waited till the slavey came, and the reeler waited till I came out, and then said, "What are you hawking of?" So I said, "I am not hawking anything ; I am buying bottles." So he said, "I thought you were hawking without a licence." As soon as he got round a double, I guyed away to Malden and touched for two wedge teapots, and took the rattler to Waterloo.

One day I took the rattler from Broad Street to Acton. I did not touch there, but worked my way to Shepherd's Bush ; but when I got there I found it so hot (dangerous), because there had been so many tykes (dogs) poisoned, that there was a reeler at almost every double, and bills posted up about it. So I went to the Uxbridge Road Station, and while I was waiting for the rattler I took a religious tract, and on it was written, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" So I thought to myself, What good has the money done me what I have had? so instead of getting out at Brondesbury, I rode on to Broad Street and paid the difference, and went home, and did not go out for about a week.

The Sunday following, when I went to Uxbridge Road, I went down a lane called Mount Pleasant, at Clapton; it was about six o'clock. Down at the bottom of the lane you could get a fine view of Walthamstow; so while I was leaning against the rails I felt very miserable. I was thinking about when I was at Feltham. I thought I had threw away the only chance I had of doing better; and as I stood thinking, the bells of St. Matthew's Church began to play a hymn-tune I had heard at Feltham. This brought tears to my eyes: this was the first time in my life that I thought what a wretch I was. I was going home very downcast when I met some pals, who said, "Why, what is the matter? you look miserable!" So I said, "I don't feel very well." So they said, "Are you coming to have something to drink?—that will liven you up." So I went in with them, and began to drink very hard to drown my thoughts.

Monday morning I felt just the same as I always did; I felt ready for the old game again. So I went to Hoxton, and some of the mob said to me, "Why, where have you been the last week or so—we thought you had felled?" So I told them I had been ill.

I went out the next day to Maidenhead, and touched for some wedge and a poge (purse), with over five quid in it.

A little while after this I went with two pals to the Palace at Muswell Hill; the races were on. So when we got there, there was some reelers there what knew me, and my pals said, "You had better get away from us; if we touch, you will take your whack (share) just the same." So I went and laid down on the grass. While laying there, I piped a reeler whom I knew. He had a nark (a policeman's spy) with him. So I went and looked about for my two pals, and told them to look out

for F. and his nark. About an hour after this they came to me and woke me up, and they said, "Come on, we have had a lucky touch for a half century in pap" (£50 in paper, *i.e.*, notes). I thought they was only kidding (deceiving) at first, so they said, "Let us guy from here, and you will see if we are kidding to you." When we got into the rattler they showed me the pap; yes, there it was, fifty quid in double finns (£10 notes). We did them for £9 10s. each to a fence.

I took the rattler one day to Reigate, and worked my way to Red Hill. So I went into a place and see some clobber hanging up, so I thought to myself I will have it, and take the rattler home at once; it will pay all expenses. So while I was looking about I piped a little peter (parcel). When I took it up it had an address on it, and the address was to the vicarage, so I came out and asked a boy if the clergyman lived there, and he said "Yes;" but to make sure of it I went back again. This time I looked at the clobber more closely, and I see it was the same as clergymen wear, so I left it where it was. I always made it a rule never to rob a clergyman's house if I knew one to live there. I could of robbed several in my time, but I would not. So I took the rattler to Croydon, and touched for some wedge, and come home.

I used to go to Henley-on-Thames most every year when, the rowing matches was on which used to represent Oxford and Cambridge, only it used to be boys instead of men. The day the Prince of Wales arrived at Portsmouth when he came home from India, me and two pals took the rattler from Waterloo at about half-past six in the morning. When we got to Portsmouth we found it was very hot; there was on every corner of a street

bills stuck up, "Beware of pickpockets, male and female," and on the tram-cars as well. So one of my pals said, "There is a reeler over there which knows me; we had better split out" (separate). Me and the other one went by ourselves; he was very tricky (clever) at getting a poge or a toy, but he would not touch toys because we was afraid of being turned over (searched). We done very well at poges; we found after we knocked off we had between sixty and seventy quid to cut up (share), but our other pal had fell, and was kept at the station until the last rattler went to London, and then they sent him home by it. One day after this I asked a screwsman if he would lend me some screws because I had a place cut and dried. But he said, "If I lend you them I shall want to stand in" (have a share); but I said, "I can't stand you at that; I will grease your duke if you like;" but he said that would not do; so I said, "We will work together, then;" and he said "Yes." So we went and done the place for fifty-five quid. So I worked with him until I fell for this stretch and a half. He was very tricky at making twirls, and used to supply them all with tools. Me and the screwsman went to Gravesend, and I found a dead 'un (uninhabited house), and we both went and turned it over, and got things out of it which fetched us forty-three quid. We went one day to Erith; I went in a place, and when I opened a door there was a great tyke lying in front of the door, so I pulled out a piece of pudding (liver prepared to silence dogs) and threw it to him, but he did not move. So I threw a piece more, and it did not take any notice; so I got close up to it and I found it was a dead dog been stuffed, so I done the place for some wedge and three overcoats: one I put on, and the other two into my kipsy.

We went to Harpenden Races to see if we could find some dead 'uns ; we went on the course. While we was there we saw a scuff, it was a flat that had been welshed, so my pal said, "Pipe his spark prop" (diamond pin). So my pal said, "Front me" (cover me), "and I will do him for it." So he pulled out his madam and done him for it. After we left the course we found a dead 'un and got a peter (cash-box) with very near a century of quids in it. Then I carried on a nice game ; what with the trips and the drink I very near went balmy (mad). It is no use of me telling you every place I done, or else you will think I am telling you the same things over again.

I will now tell you what happened the day before I fell for this stretch and a half. Me and the screwsman went to Charlton. From there we worked our way to Blackheath. I went in a place and touched for some wedge, which we done for three pounds ten. I went home and wrung myself (changed clothes), and met some of the mob and got very near drunk. Next morning I got up about seven, and went home to change my clobber and put on the old clobber to work with the kipsy. When I got home my mother asked me if I was not a-going to stop to have some breakfast? So I said, "No ; I was in a hurry." I had promised to meet the screwsman, and did not want to stick him up. We went to Willesden and found a dead 'un, so I came out and asked my pal to lend me the James and some twirls, and I went and turned it over. I could not find any wedge. I found a poge with nineteen shillings in it. I turned everything over, but could not find anything worth having, so I came out and gave the tools to my pal and told him. So he said, "Wasn't

there any clobber?" So I said, "Yes, there's a cartload. So he said, "Go and get a kipsy full of it, and we will guy home." So I went back, and as I was going down the garden, the gardener, it appears, had been put there to watch the house, so he said, "What do you want here?" So I said, "Where do you speak to the servants?" So he said, "There is not any one at home; they are all out." So he said, "What do you want with them?" So I said, "Do you know if they have any bottles to sell, because the servant told me to call another day?" So he said, "I do not know; you had better call another time." So I said, "All right, and good day to him." I had hardly got outside when he came rushing out like a man balmy, and said to me, "You must come back with me." So I said, "All right. What is the matter?" So when we got to the door he said, "How did you open this door?" So I said, "My good fellow, you are mad! how could I open it?" So he said, "It was not open half an hour ago, because I tried it." So I said, "Is that any reason why I should of opened it?" So he said, "At any rate you will have to come to the station with me."

The station was not a stone's throw from the place; so he caught hold of me; so I gave a twist round and brought the kipsy in his face, and gave him a push and guyed. He followed, giving me hot beef (calling "Stop thief"). My pal came along, and I said to him, "Make this man leave me alone; he is knocking me about," and I put a half-James (half-sovereign) in his hand, and said, "Guy." As I was running round a corner there was a reeler talking to a postman, and I rushed by him, and a little while after the gardener came up and told him all about it. So he set after me, and the postman too, all the three giving me hot beef. This set other people after



me, and I got run out. So I got run in, and was tried at Marylebone and remanded for a week, and then fullied (fully committed for trial), and got this stretch and a half. Marylebone is the court I got my schooling from.

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Before we leave this subject I would draw some illustrations and observations from the prison walls, or rather the insides of the cells in which I spent so much time during my ten years in Clerkenwell.

In no respect is the *cacoethes scribendi* more deserving of its name than when it prompts the illiterate or the snob to leave a record of his unimportant or undesirable presence. The idiotic attempts at feeble and sometimes fetid wit in our railway carriages, the defacing of the walls of some historic place with names of trippers or tourists of the meaner sort, the vulgarizing of the most magnificent things in nature by the announcement that 'Arry 'Opkins has appreciated but himself in Switzerland, or Caleb Smith has been unable to forget his personality in the presence of Niagara, are all wonderments to the philosophical and saddening to the moralist or the believer in the capacities of man. Egoism is the more unbearable when the ego is contemptible and unable to conceal the fact. This particular manifestation of egoism and snobbery becomes not the less oppressive because it is confined almost entirely to one class of the community, namely, the lower middle males. It is a vice to which the labourer and the artisan is remarkably little addicted. It is rare among women of any class. But the males of the lower middle class are unfortunately (in this respect, at any rate) a very numerous, ubiquitous, and irrepressible body. An aggravating circumstance is that very little

light is thrown upon the natural history of the animal by its inscriptions, which are chiefly confined to the absolutely unimportant matter of its name. One does learn something from the scratches of early Hottentots in their caves, or from the walls of Pompeii ; but from the efforts of 'Arry the shopman, or clerk, or junior bagman, nothing can be gathered.

There is, however, one kind of inscriptions which presents exceptions to many of the preceding remarks, as they are the work of the lower and lowest classes, and do teach much of the language, the habits, and the habitats of the inscriber. There are none of the beauties or solemnities of nature in view to be outraged. It is not here that "every prospect pleases," and only man is displayed as vile by his inability to appreciate it or depreciate himself. In some cases, even, they have a moral purpose, and aim at the interests of others, not the glorification or obtrusion of self. They occasionally reveal sentiments which one could not wish absent, even though one fails to see why they should be published in this particular way. There is a creditable absence from them of the sheer silliness or mere dirt which is the staple of inscriptions elsewhere which are more than records of names and dates. Finally, they are produced under circumstances of braving afflictive dietary, results which cannot, unfortunately, affect most of our public scribblers. I allude to the inscriptions by the inmates of prison cells. As Hepworth Dixon says, "It is a curious subject to seek into the motives which impel men to write their names on the stones of their prison houses. Men of all ranks and characters do it: the noble in the Beauchamp Tower ; the felon in the house of correction ; the murderer in the cell at Newgate. Perhaps it is the

mere instinct of activity, denied every other mode of expending itself." Michael Davitt, however, ascribes it to "that weakness or vanity which induces travellers to carve their names upon the pyramids," yet adds later, that he adorned the waiting-room at the Old Bailey with the record that "M. D. expects ten years for the crime of being an Irish Nationalist, and the victim of an informer's perjury."

I do not purpose, however, to speak of those inscriptions which are of some historic interest in older prisons, into which in the bad old days came men for the crimes of being Churchmen or Nonconformists (according to whether the Independents or Churchmen were in power), or for being loyal to their monarch in adversity. Much might be gathered of interest from the Tower of London, parts of which have been covered with inscriptions, of which I will only quote one from the Beauchamp Tower—

"The man whom this house cannot mend  
Hath evil become, and worse will end."

Much more interesting information may be gathered on this point from Hepworth Dixon's "The London Prisons," or by a personal visit to the Tower. Nor should one omit the records in the wrongly-named Lollard's Tower in Lambeth Palace. My purpose is, however, to speak only of what has come under my own notice, and to give some account of what I have transcribed from time to time from the walls of my own prison. Pencils are contraband, writing materials only lent for a time when a letter has to be written, and all defacing of the walls would be a prison offence, yet such power has the *cacoethes scribendi* that the whitewash or

paint is hardly dry in a renewed cell before the crop of inscriptions begins to appear. Let me attempt to classify and describe some of them.

There are those which would certainly puzzle a future antiquarian who was learned in the tongue of the Victorian Age, from the number of words they contained unknown to the pulpit, the bench, and even to Parliament. Thus, "Fullied for a Clock and Slang," reveals the fact that the writer stole a watch and chain, was apprehended, and has been fully committed for trial at the next sessions or assize. "Long bil expects bolt," informs the sympathetic or rejoicing reader that one William, whose stature exceeds that which is common among the stunted members of the criminal class (a man of six feet is a rare phenomenon in prison) expects to be sentenced to penal servitude. "Neddie, from City Road, smuggled for attempt up the Grove, expects a sixer," means that a misguided Edward has been apprehended while promenading outside Whiteley's, and investigating the contents of ladies' pockets, and is reconciling himself to an absence from his oriental home for half a year. "Take my tip and turn square, from a hook who is going to be legged," would be, in common parlance, Take my advice and get your living honestly, says a pickpocket who is expecting penal servitude. "Fatty Bill, from City Road, rem for a bust ex 2 years," means that William, affectionately known to his companions by the possession of adiposity (fat people rarely find their way to prison, or perhaps people who are qualifying themselves for prison rarely get fat), has (like the herein aforementioned Edward) been compelled to leave his congenial haunts in the City Road, as he is remanded for a burglary, and anticipates two years' hard labour. Again, from the City

Road (and he is careful to add E.C. lest he should be confused with some West End bloated aristocrat) comes Mike, whose record is "7 or the chuck for a clock," *i.e.*, he hopes to be acquitted, but rather expects seven years for stealing a watch. "Kit, from 7 dials, remanded innocent on 2 charges of pokes, only out 2 weeks for a Drag, expects to get fuled or else chucked. Got 2 previous convictions. Cheer up all you Dials." The speciality of this artist is proclaimed to be purses, and his assertion of innocence is rather discounted by the two charges and two convictions which preceded the three months' hard labour from which he has so lately emerged. Another is, "Only yust out of steel," *i.e.*, the Bastile, *i.e.*, Coldbath Fields Prison. "Arthur, from Marylebone, expects 7 years for some Snow," or linen. Another from the Borough "10 for a toy," or watch. Another complains that he is "put away by Charly Start, the Copper's Nark," or policeman's spy, the nark being to his ex-companions what Judas Iscariot is to the Christian. "Tommy roundhead, seven dials, fulid, expects 2 stretch for a prop," or two years for stealing a breastpin. "Poor old Jim, the lob crawler, fell from Racker and got pinched," is a lament in an unknown tongue to many; but to the initiated conveys succinctly the information that James and his companion Racker went out to commit till robberies; being detected, one escaped, but the other was apprehended. Another of the trade has "dipped a lob for 6 quid," or stolen £6 from a till.

As most consider it the thing to append their address after a fashion, it becomes very easy to compile a list of the streets or lodging-houses most affected by the criminal classes; and these would be—in the Western District; Bangor Street and Crescent Street, Notting Hill: in the

South-west district ; Pye Street and Peter Street, Westminster : in the East ; Flower and Dean Street, Kate Street, and the Beehive lodging-house in Brick Lane : in the East Central ; Whitecross Street and Golden Lane, St. Luke's ; Lever Street, New North Road, and the streets between it and Hoxton Street on the east and City Road on the west, and notably Blind Con's lodging-house in Golden Lane : in the West Central division ; Eagle Street, Holborn, Short's Gardens, Drury Lane, the Empress Chambers, and Fullwood's (or Fuller's) Rents. Across the Thames, Mint Street and Tabard Street, in the Borough, and East Street, Walworth. These names come over and over again, and often afford a useful clue as to the habits of the writer. True, as a prisoner from a particularly low lodging-house once remarked, "A man ain't a 'orse because he lives in a stable ;" but it is true also, as I rejoined, that he has no great objection to the company of horses if he chooses such an abode.

It would be naturally imagined that the great food question would be referred to in these mural records, and therefore we find such remarks as the following :—"Here's luck to the pint of skilly !" and for the benefit of the next occupant of the lodgings, "How do you like skilly, old boy ?" Or, again, "Come to this place, and then you will see what sort of food you will get ;" to which the answer might be, "Such as is sufficient to keep prisoners what they are—the most healthy class in England." Therefore, "Lord save me from starvashun" was an unnecessary prayer while the writer remained in prison. Yet visions of luxuries and excess will enter the mind, and therefore we find, "One more month then out we go, Then for feed of Hot Coco ; Fried Bread

and steak, Plenty of Beer ; Better luck than we get here." A somewhat carnal and despairing view of prison life is indicated by "Lads, your only friend here is your brown lofe and pint of thick." The following remark dates from before a uniform system was introduced, by the prisons coming under Government : "This Prison is worse then Maidstone ; Prisoners Diners at to Clock, and very bad then." Yet the variety of diet is beneficial from other points of view than the physical one—anything to minimize the horrors of monotony ; and so one wrote, "Cheer up, boys, down with sorrow ; Beef to-day, Soup to-morrow," which again does not sound as if "stir (*i.e.*, prison) means starvation" were the expression of a fact, whether etymological or physical. A common yearning during the first part of an imprisonment would be expressed in "O for a pot of beer," or the artless poem, "O who can tell the panes I feel, A poor and harmless sailor, I miss my grog and every meal ; Here comes the blooming jailer."

But those inscriptions are of more real interest which show that the quiet and solitary life has begun to arouse reflective powers, and that reason or conscience, long dormant or drugged, again make their voices heard. There are very few people who would not be benefited by a month in prison if they had the sense and the grace to use the opportunity thus afforded for meditation and resolution. They might doubtless make for themselves the same opportunities in some external retreat, but then they generally will not, or at any rate do not. Plainly a step forward and upwards has been taken, albeit a minor one, when the prisoner has begun to search out the cause of his position, as had those who wrote, "I advise you to keep away from bar ; be a teatotler," or "Good-bye all.

Give up drink," or "Take my advice and keep from drink, for it has been the ruin of me ; it will be a warning to me for life"—words which might impress another prisoner more as coming from one in his own condition than if they came from the chaplain. Or again, from the female side (in which inscriptions are much rarer), "I, Eliz F., take an oath I never touch drink again with the help of God." Prison resolutions are no doubt mainly equal in value to sick-bed resolutions, but yet from both there comes a percentage of permanent good, and it is by no means rare to find that the compulsory abstinence of a prison has been the prelude to voluntary abstinence outside, which had seemed or been thought impossible before. Again, "A prisoner's advice: sign the pledge," which had been anticipated or acted upon by another who deposes " $\frac{1}{2}$  pint whiskey brought me here—took the pledge for 2 years—renewable for ever." Should it be objected that prisoners seem to ascribe all their crimes to intemperance, the answer is that in seventy-five cases out of a hundred this is so, by a computation that is below that of many cognoscenti.

Again, a step of solid value has been taken when reflection leads one to consider how little evil pays after all, even on commercial principles. A further and higher application of the question, What shall it profit a man? becomes more easy after this first step. Of course we meet with the stock adage which bears on this point, in the words, "Take advice from a convict—honesty is the best policy, my boys;" but there is candour or humour in the variant form, "Honesty is the best policy for a little while." Many have reached the point of considering how much money they lose by what they take, as evidenced in "Babzey from the Kate (*i.e.*, Kate Street,



Spitalfields), 7 yrs. for £33;" or "Ten days and ten years for a box of money with 9/7 in the box;" or "Harry, the painter from Strand, expects 6 months for 5 bob;" or the melancholy reflection on the depression of trade, "Burglary is a poor game nowadays." Another moralist is moved to poetry, "When I get out I do intend My future life to try and mend, For sneaking's a game that does not pay; You are bound to get lagged, do what you may. Written by one who knows it to his sorrow, Who expects 12 months for only a borrow." (Cf. "Convey, the wise it call.") A similar thought occurred to him who wrote, "For seven long years have I served them, And seven long years i have to stay, For meeting a bloke in our alley And taking his ticker away."

Then there are moral remarks of a more varied kind, such as this, by one who probably bewailed the lack of visitors: "Lads, wen your outside & got money your got frends, but wen your here an got no money, you got no frends;" or the sneer of another pessimist, "What a happy world this is!" (Pretty much what we choose to make it, my friend; man makes his circumstances more than circumstances make the man.) "Cheer up, girls, it's no use to fret," may be the utterance of a better spirit or the vain attempt to drown remorse or shame. "I hope the best, but dread the worst," is a natural remark, only acquittal, by which probably "the best" is meant, is not always a boon in the long run. "Chambre de la meditation" is an appropriate description of what a cell may be to the benefit of the inmate. "Return good for evil"—let us hope this was not mentally addressed to the prosecutor, but was a personal admonition. "Vincit qui patitur" reminds us that it is not the uneducated only that fall into crime. But reasoning power

seems to have been absent from him who wrote, "All in lonely cell I lie, No better I deserved. It will make your blood run cold To think how I got served," wherein it is difficult to see whether the acceptance of penance or the spirit of rebellion against it was the innermost thought. "Law for the rich, but none for the poor," is a maxim that derives its sting from its truth not having passed away with feudalism, though sometimes quoted to justify absurd complaints. Was it a visit or the absence of a visit that inspired—"Oh, what is love, if not the same in wealth, prospearety, advercety, & shame?" Certainly from prison walls come very touching examples in everyday life, as in history, of the adage that love will go to the gallows. The application, "Wen your Neighbour's house is on Fire, mind your own," requires explanation that only the writer could give. Was "In speaking of another's faults Pray don't forget your own" an attempt at self-consolation on the part of a prisoner who had been reprimanded for some breach of rules? "Cheer up, lads, time flies" was written by one who would better have remembered the entire adage of the dial, "Pereunt—et imputantur." "You are a lot of fools to get in here, myself included," is frank, but oblivious to the fact that rogues are invariably fools sometimes—happily for society. If this is not mere sentimentality, there is pathos in its sentiment—"The heart may breake, yet may brokenly live on." Good John Bullish words in "It's no good crying, you have got to do it, then after you have done it don't do it any more; I won't." "Think of your mother" was no doubt the well-meant advice of one who had personally profited by such thought, but until many mothers cease to be the active as well as the passive cause of their children going wrong it is not safe

to scatter this counsel broadcast. When, for example, a prisoner tells me, "I was born in prison while my mother was doing a month for being drunk, and I expect to die in prison," I had rather he should not reflect on her influence and example. But "Man, know thyself," would never fail to fit any future occupant of the cell. If not morality, there is yet philosophy and bitter truth in the reply or comment on the words of Alf Jones, who had written, "Good-bye, Lucy, dear, I'm parted from you for seven long year." The reply was, "If Lucy dear is like most gals, She'll give few sighs or moans, But soon will find among your pals Another Alfred Jones."

Evidence of memory and the power of application is found in such inscribed quotations as this from an old English ballad, which is pathetic when found in a female prisoner's cell. "I wish to God my baby was born, And smiling on its father's knee, And I, poor girl, lay in my grave, The green grass growing over me." The inevitable "Abandon hope, all ye who enter here," is, of course, found, and the equally inevitable "Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage." Politics are, happily, left outside, and do not disturb our tranquillity or embitter our fate. The only inscription of this sort being "Vote for Dilke and Firth," which was not, I presume, inspired by any knowledge that I was a voter in the Chelsea Division.

The oppressiveness of time, which is the real punishment of prison life to most, finds a striking record in such words as these: "21,000 times have I walked round this cell in a week"—a self-imposed tread-mill, which speaks expressively of the pains of anticipation and unrest; or in these other rosaries of despair: "3,330 bricks in this cell;" and in another place, "131 black

tiles, 150 red tiles in this cell." Birds could not sing if they were reduced to counting the wires in their cage, in the hope of drowning thought. Certain generalizations of observant and experienced men appear in the descriptions of the productive qualities of various places, to wit, "London for sharpers, Brummagem for thieves, Paris for flymen, Sheffield for pitchers of snyde (coiners and utterers), signed by Darkey, the gun (or gonoph, *i.e.*, thief), from Wandsworth Road, for a bust." Or, as regards the ultimate destination of these gentlemen, we find that the convict establishments have Murrys of their own, who say—

" Dartmoor is a tidy place,  
Chatham is the terror of our race,  
Portland is not quite so bad,  
Broadmoor is for those stark mad,  
Pentonville is the hill of London,  
Borstal if you're there you're undone,  
Portsmouth is a noted shop,  
Brixton is a regular cop."

Or, as a more fleshly poet writes—

" Millbank for thick shins and graft at the pump,  
Broadmoor for all laggs as go off their chump (become insane);  
Brixton for good toke and cocoa with fat,  
Dartmoor for bad grub but plenty of chat,  
Portsmouth a blooming bad place for hard work,  
Chatham on Sunday gives four ounces of pork,  
Portland is the worst of the lot for to joke in,  
For fetching a lagging there is no place like Woking."

I have left to the last the by no means least instructive class of inscriptions, the religious ones. Many of them may be the expression of hypocrisy, for the prison world is not much better than the external world of undetected

persons ; many may record an emotion that dies almost at its birth, like the resolutions that are born in church and buried in the churchyard ; but yet it must be remembered that they are not meant to catch the eye, and thus curry favour, for what they would gain would probably be a day's bread and water for defacing the cell contrary to regulations, or being in possession of a contraband pencil. In not a few cases, however, they spring from a revived or new-born motion, that convinces, or calms, softens or makes brave to endure. Instances of these inscriptions are : "Keep your sins ever before thee ;" or "Fear God and scorn the Devil, then you will not be here again ;" or (with another suspicion of the dualist heresy) "The Almighty for master, the devil for servant. Amen." In which case the love of antithesis has proved fatal to the theological accuracy, or even the common sense of the author. "Whatsoever you would that man should do unto you, even so do it unto them," may have reminded the prisoner of the innate selfishness of criminality, or have been meant as a reminder to the officers of how mercy must rejoice over judgment, and kindness accompany the discharge of duty. Was some David striving to be his own Nathan when he wrote : "Thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thee" ? And certainly the hymn based on Holman Hunt's "Light of the World" has rarely found more striking application than when it was written on a cell wall : "O Jesu, Thou art standing outside this fast-closed door," and the rest of the poem followed. And the city motto, "Domine dirige nos," was certainly more in place here than when I observed it under the City arms on the doors of a gin-palace in the City Road. Nor are the cases unknown in which real good comes out of apparent evil, and the

prisoner can honestly and thankfully say, "The Lord saith, It is good to be here." Says another, with doubtless a good intention, "Brethren in adversity, turn your heart to God and be happy." Pregnant, and not selfish, is the prayer and intercession, "God help me, God help you." Useful the reminder, "The Lord's eye is everywhere." Or this, "It's never too late to mend ; God help us to do so. Amen." Was that man hardened who wrote : "God bless my wife and children," as a relief to a heart that ached for the aches it had caused to other hearts ? And, finally, the inscription, "I was in prison and ye visited me," may help to remind my readers of how it is easier and more common to give prisoners contempt or blame, or to let them drop out of public or private prayer, than to obey the Master's command in spirit, if it be impossible according to the letter.

## II.

### *PRISON NOTES.*

I NOW proceed to give some notes, *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, which I jotted down from time to time. They contain facts, figures, and suggestions that may be interesting and useful to some who are interested in the phenomena, the prevention, and the cure of the diseases called poverty, ignorance, vice, and crime. Their spasmodic character, and the want of any continuity between the paragraphs, is of course a necessity from the circumstances of their birth.

How interested in, and yet how ignorant of, our prisons and prisoners are most English people! The word "prison," in the heading of an article or on the contents bill of a newspaper, will always attract the eye, and yet how many Londoners could say how many prisons there were in London, or give their names? How many can direct some discharged prisoner to the nearest or best society that exists to help him? How many could guess within ten thousand our daily prison population? Nay, how many when they hear the words, "all prisoners and captives," used in the Litany, do much more than feel thankful that they can by no possibility be numbered in that category?

\* \* \* \*

Taking ordinary prisons alone, as distinct from convict prisons which contain those sentenced to penal servitude, there are sixty-one, and there were 113 until the Government took all prisons under their central and uniform care in 1878. Into these were sent in the last twelve months for which we have the returns, 172,000 persons, or rather this was the number of commitments, as some persons by repeated remands, or by repeated petty imprisonments in the year, are counted several times over. But take it at 100,000 and imagine the amount of criminality, of domestic misery, of national loss, that this means.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Counted several times over?" And likely to be while our present laws that pretend to repress or punish the drunken and disorderly offender remain so inadequate and therefore futile. I knew a woman who, during 1880, suffered no less than nine separate imprisonments of a month each for being drunk and disorderly.

\* \* \* \* \*

And many a poor creature really longs for a period of restraint and abstinence that would give some chance of physical improvement. Often have I heard, "What is the use of giving me a month, it will only be the same thing over again!" or "It is cruel to be always letting me out, only that I may return; why can't the magistrate give me time in prison to get straight?" or "Why can't the Government or somebody keep me here till I am cured?"

\* \* \* \* \*

What should be the age when crime is least to be expected, when youthful giddiness has passed away, and one is not so easily persuaded, or led, or dared, into what



is known to be foolish and wrong when one's powers are fresh and therefore marketable, and when old age has not brought on decrepitude and poverty from younger workers being inevitably preferred? Surely that best age would be the decade from twenty to thirty years, when hope and strength should be greatest and cares and liabilities be least. Yet that is exactly the worst age for crime; 56,900 prisoners one year were between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, and if we take any separate heads of crime (except begging) the same thing will be seen. Thus in the metropolitan apprehensions for drunkenness 7,067 out of 19,743 were of that age, which is two thousand over the decade that approaches it most nearly; and of 300 consecutive cases of attempted suicide, 124 (within one of absolutely half) were young persons of that age.

\* \* \* \* \*

Talking of suicide, many would not unnaturally imagine that prison was just the place, and the being a prisoner (especially if awaiting trial or just sentenced) was just the condition, in which suicides were to be expected. Yet, as a matter of fact, in fifty-six out of sixty-seven prisons no suicide occurred in a year, and though the number in prison at the beginning of the year was 17,329, and during the year 104,544 more were received, there were only thirteen suicides. This, of course, is largely due to precaution and careful vigilance, yet it is much below the average of suicides compared to the general population.

\* \* \* \* \*

Thus, in England, according to Dr. Morselli, the mean annual number of suicides which happen in every million inhabitants, without distinction of sex *or age*, is sixty-six

The proportion, therefore, amongst the prison population, almost exclusively adult, and mainly not merely criminal but also drawn from the classes which are unhealthy in mind as well as in body, should be much higher.

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Curiously do the various nations of the Continent vary in this matter. Taking the mean proportion of suicides to each million, the ratios are:—Ireland 18, Italy 35, England 66, Belgium 68, Norway 73, Sweden 81, Bavaria 91, Prussia 134, Hanover 140, Nassau 147, France 150, Baden 156, Würtemberg 190, Mecklenburg 167, Denmark 258, and Saxony 299!

\* \* \* \* \*

And it is saddening to note that there is a steady and uniform increase in this form of crime. Thus, if we compare 1875 with 1845 (the earliest year for which complete returns are given), Norway is the only country that does not show an increase proportional to population, while in some cases this increase is immense, *e.g.*, France 85 to 150, Würtemberg 107 to 160, and Saxony 198 to 299.

\* \* \* \* \*

Dr Morselli says that this exception of Norway is owing perhaps to the severe laws issued in the last twenty years against drunkenness, and to the Government restrictions placed on the sale and consumption of alcohol. I should imagine he has hit the right nail on the head, for when I tabulated 300 consecutive cases of attempted suicide (I have to do with about 400 in a year), I found that 145 were caused directly, and 27 more indirectly, by intemperance.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our "pastors and masters" might with advantage note

one of Dr. Morselli's canons, to wit, that "Protestants" are more addicted to suicide than Roman Catholics, and the Jews less than either. My observation confirms this, and I have never had much doubt of the chief cause, which is that Romanists are better grounded in their faith, and *especially in the eschatological part of it*. The popular creed of our non-Roman population is—When I die I shall go to heaven—a thesis which is untrue *in presenti* for all, and improbable *in futuro* for many of those who utter it. The Romanist, however, does not believe that when he dies he will either be miraculously transformed, or that "there will be an end of me and my troubles."

\* \* \* \* \*

The summer of 1883 was remarkable for an epidemic of murder or murderous assaults. In one day I visited, in twelve almost contiguous cells, men who were in for the following offences:—1, murdering his five children; 2, murdering his wife; 3, murdering his child; 4, manslaughter; 5, attempted suicide; 6, murdering a man; 7, attempted suicide; 8, murdering a man; 9, attempted murder; 10, attempted murder; 11, stabbing; 12, attempted suicide. It is not merely one marriage that makes many, but crimes of violence are contagious also, and suicide often locally epidemic, so that an uncle of mine, who was a coroner, when he had held an inquest on a suicide in one part of his district always expected soon to be called upon to revisit that part.

\* \* \* \* \*

The only wonder is that crimes of violence are not more common, considering the atmosphere of violent language in which thousands of the children of our slums are reared. "I'll break every bone of your body" is

looked upon by the British matron of a certain and common type, as certainly no reprehensible phrase, hardly a threat — almost an expression of endearment. Father and mother abuse one another in the angriest and filthiest language, the masculine fist and the feminine poker are freely used, the fading hues of the last black eye are vigorously revived, the whole neighbourhood is aroused, and crowds of children study this object-lesson in domestic economy, and eventually it is described as “only a few family words.”

\* \* \* \* \*

Quaint, pathetic, and shocking alike, was the request of one of the murderers enumerated above, an utter heathen, “I should like to be converted if you could make it convenient some day. No; I don’t know what it is, but I have heard there is such a thing.” Poor man! Poor land!

\* \* \* \* \*

Often have I noted down the quaint expressions I have heard from prisoners, and much is to be learned from them as to popular fallacies and popular perversions of religion. What a curious dualistic idea was conveyed in this, “The Devil was stronger than the Lord, and made me take them.” What a union of presumption and fatalism in “God won’t call me before I get a turn.” How largely justified by the statistics of “civil” funerals in Berlin was the remark of a female prisoner, “Baby is not christened because it was born in Germany, and they don’t stand to no religion there.” And what do we find at the bottom of the common expression, which transcends the ignorance, or impudence, of Cain, “We’re none of us our own keepers,” as a justification for wrong-doing?

\* \* \* \* \*

Very instructive, too, was the remark of a Jewish solicitor (a prisoner) for whom I was requested to find a Hebrew Bible as he had to take an oath. On going to his cell with one I met him coming out with an ordinary Bible under his arm. "You had better take this," said I, "as it is only the Old Testament." "Thank you, sir," he answered, "it's of no consequence, I only kiss my side of the book." Exactly what most people do who count instead of weighing texts, and look only on one doctrine or one aspect of a truth, whereby what might remain but a pious opinion or an allowable fancy becomes speedily a heresy and the occasion of strife and schism.

\* \* \* \* \*

Wise men may learn from fools, and valuable things are found occasionally on dunghills. So that the external public might gather many a hint or lesson from the criminals they in their respectability despise. It was Peace, the liar, the burglar, the murderer, who put a truth effectively before me, when he said in my first talk with him, "If a minister really believed in his work it would pay him not merely to go on a Sabbath day's journey to preach, but to go there on his hands and knees on broken bottles." I have heard the same remark not so adhesively put by bishops and conductors of spiritual retreats.

\* \* \* \* \*

I wonder, by-the-bye, how long will prevail the idea that the sole office of a minister is to preach? I prefer the conception which was in the mind of a juvenile prisoner whom I suspected of not knowing what a Church was. "Oh yes, sir, I do: it's where they vaccinate children in the afternoon, and gives away things to poor people."

\* \* \* \* \*

Thankful, I am, with regard to these juvenile offenders, that our prisons are no longer used as crèches. But I see that in a yearly report written not so many years ago, I said, "In noticing that 190 prisoners (184 being males) have been under 12 years of age, I must express my great regret at being called upon to minister to infants of seven years old who might well be remanded to a work-house where they would not be in solitary confinement, and would not be likely to abscond even if sent home for a week. Inasmuch as many, if not most, of the juvenile offenders cannot read, and none can be employed in prison work, their punishment is greater absolutely and relatively than that the adults receive."

\* \* \* \* \*

Only unhappily the homeless children are frequently the most to be envied. When my bishop asked me once (on a printed letter of inquiry) what I considered the greatest hindrances of religion, I made an answer which I have never seen reason to modify:—1, Drinking; 2, The British parent; 3, The British employer; 4, The respectability of the Church. Test the value of home environment to many by this fact, that of the boys sent to their homes after serving their time in Feltham Industrial School 23 per cent. are speedily reconvicted, while of those otherwise provided for only 5 per cent. went wrong. And this is the evidence given by any reformatory, and that not merely in England, for I observe in the report of the Connecticut Reformatory the statement that "A much larger proportion go astray again of those returned to parents and former friends than of those placed in other families."

\* \* \* \* \*

Especially saddening is this thought when we consider

the force not merely of environment but also of heredity. The one truth of the Bible no infidel can ever doubt, is, the sins of the parents are visited upon the children. But oh ! how complacently virtuous are always the afflicted mothers of girls who have gone wrong : of course they couldn't control a big girl of fourteen ; of course they weren't to know what she was about when out each night till eleven ; of course it was not her business to inquire as to the character of her daughter's young man ; and so on, until one turns away in disgust and hopelessness for the parent and more pity for the child.

\* \* \* \* \*

Is the progress of sanitation and the connection of sanitation with health anywhere more marked than in our prisons ? It is barely a century since John Howard found in Clerkenwell Prison twelve dark, unwholesome, night-rooms for women, nine feet by seven each, and as there were some 50 women in custody, the amount and state of the air breathed by each may be imagined ; and at Plymouth he found three convicts, who had been nearly two months in a room to which light and air came solely through a wicket in the door seven inches by five, to which they came by turns for breath. And as an evidence of the malignity of the air in prison, he mentions that his clothes were in his first journeys so offensive, that in a post-chaise he could not bear the windows to be shut, and the leaves of his notebook were often so tainted that he could not transcribe from it till it had been aired for an hour or two before a fire.

\* \* \* \* \*

Now each prisoner has not merely a room to him or herself, but each room must be certified to contain a cubic amount of air to which they have rarely been

accustomed outside : there is none of that institutional smell so commonly to be noted in workhouses and elsewhere : and the mortality of our prisoners varies only from 7 to 8 in 1,000, as compared with 14 in many a health resort, and 21 in London at large. Infant mortality does not of course come in to swell the average ; but this is more than counterbalanced by the fact that this healthy army of prisoners is drawn almost exclusively from what the doctors would call the unhealthy classes.

\* \* \* \* \*

In the "good old days" gaol fever was as common as deadly, and the infection was such that at an Oxford Assize (called, in consequence, the Black Assize) all who were present died within forty hours ; and Lord Bacon remarks that he has known both the judges of assize and numbers of those officially or accidentally present to sicken and die of it : this simply from the smell and contagion brought into court by the prisoners who temporarily occupied the dock. Where is now gaol fever to be found ? It is struck out of the nomenclature of disease ; and though it exists as typhus, it is just in our prisons that typhus is never found.

\* \* \* \* \*

Oh, those good old days ! A letter is before me from an active Oxfordshire rector, who says, "When I was a boy of twelve years of age" (this was in 1831), "I remember perfectly well a young man of eighteen being hanged for robbing his master. His master kept a china shop, and he carried out a basket of china in the very early morning and sold it. Every effort was made to save him ; his master was a rich man, and went down in a post-chaise to see the Home Secretary, who was then in the country, but it was of no avail. He wrote a letter



to his fellow-workmen, which I saw, acknowledging the justice of his sentence."

\* \* \* \*

And Sir Moses Montefiore might remember (had he been present) having seen a woman burned in Smithfield for an offence against the Mint. This was only in 1790.

\* \* \* \*

And an elderly friend of mine saw a pickpocket publicly and judicially flogged in the market-place of Dover for his offence.

\* \* \* \*

From Howard's "Proposed Improvements," modest and practical as they must have been at once seen to be, we gather not only additional evidence of the scandalous state of prisons in his times (which are those also of our grandfathers), but also may observe how none of his proposals were chimerical, and nearly every one has been adopted, so that one may say as confidently as thankfully that in no other department of philanthropy have such rapid strides towards perfection been made. Were he to revisit our prisons of to-day he would, I believe, find nothing to condemn, but would find hardly anything desirable from a religious, moral, philanthropic, or sanitary point of view, of which he might not say, "I recommended that."

\* \* \* \*

Really juvenile crime is said on good evidence to be much less than in former years, but the decade from 20 to 30 remains as ever the worst for crime of all kinds except begging. It is sad, however, to observe the very large proportion of young girls that are brought into prison. To-day, for example, out of eight fresh arrivals

there are two girls aged 16, two aged 17, and two aged 21. In another daily list I have two girls of 13, two of 14, one of 15, and one of 20. In another, seven out of twelve are "infants;" in another, seven out of thirteen; in another, six out of thirteen; in another, seven out of ten.

\* \* \* \* \*

Though infants in the eye of the law, not a few of these girls would be married. The first on my list, for example, is only 21, but had three children, and is sent for trial for the manslaughter of her babe by overlaying it when drunk on Saturday night. As infanticide is the commonest form of murder, so alcoholic infanticide, or alcoholicide, as Dr. B. W. Richardson would call it, accounts for a terrible amount of infant mortality. In Liverpool in one year 165 infants were overlain, and 300 in London, and, as coroners have often pointed out, such deaths almost invariably happen on Saturday night or Sunday morning, *i.e.*, are attributable chiefly to the drunkenness of the mother, who cannot hear the warning cry of her babe, even if that babe be not too narcotised by the admixture of milk and alcohol drawn from her mother's breast to utter such a cry. "Can a mother forget her sucking child?" It would seem so.

\* \* \* \* \*

These premature marriages (against early marriages, where some antecedent thrift and stability of character had been shown, I should have nothing to say) are in many ways the direct and speedy causes of degradation, crime, and the physical deterioration of those infants who survive. Disease, disunion, and destitution are the natural results of such unions, for which not only parents, but largely the urban clergy, are greatly responsible by their neglect of any inquiry when the banns are given in.

I knew a man arrested for trigamy at the age of 34, who had been inveigled into marrying a woman nearly old enough to be his mother when he was 14, and I have noted many cases in which the child-wife was only 14 or 15. In a majority of these cases, too, the married belong to such occupations as costermongers or factory hands, who are least of all fitted by previous training to make good housewives.

\* \* \* \* \*

The second girl on my list is only 17, but "in" for attempting suicide; the third is likewise 17, and likewise had tried to murder herself. This leads me to notice that during the last twelve months I have had to do with one boy of 14 and eight of 19 years of age for attempting self-murder; while on the female side were one girl aged 14, two aged 15, one aged 16, ten aged 17, two 18, and thirteen aged 19. One hardly wonders at this, however, when one knows the atmosphere of violence in word and deed in which these poor children have often been dragged up, while outside their homes there exist these three common potent causes of suicide: 1. The prevalent idea that there can be little harm in what the law ignores, or punishes but lightly. 2. The absence of instruction in school and church of what suicide is. 3. The vagueness or practical absence of teaching about the intermediate state, the permanence of character, and the continuity of life.

\* \* \* \* \*

The third girl on my list was a very typical illustration of the result of our workhouse or district schools. She had been brought up in one for eight years as being fatherless, but at 15 her mother objected to her being put into service, thinking that she might make more out of

her at home. Soon, however, quarrels arose. She left home, and after a time and for a time was naturally found "on the streets." Though only 17 she has already had a fortnight for drunkenness and two months for theft, and is now in prison for a nearly successful attempt at drowning herself, because she was miserable, and did not want to resume her immoral life. She comes in from the lowest part of London, and readily gives me the names of six other girls living in brothels near her, who have been brought up with her in the district school. Yet but for heredity (probably) and environment (certainly) she is not a bad girl on the whole. When will people understand that no list of the causes of hereditary pauperism, of crime, and of prostitution, would be complete or honest which did not include the workhouse training of the young, and especially of girls?

\* \* \* \* \*

The type is so distinct, that, when one knows one, all are known. Backboneless; without ambition, or the very idea of self-respect; quiet enough and well-behaved when propped up by the four walls of a cell, but flopping down like a dropsical or rickety babe as soon as that support is withdrawn; varying only the dreariness of their existence by a fit of sulks, or some act that is evidence of a suicidal tendency; opposing to the most kindly and well-considered efforts for their animation and elevation, only the *vis inertiae* of an apathetic sloth. Such are the results not so much of heredity as of environment, as all prison-workers observe them in the deadest class with whom they have to do. And as to the numbers that thus go wrong, because they have never been fitted to go right, see Mr. Peek's "Social Wreckage."

\* \* \* \* \*

The Judicial Statistics (England and Wales) for five years ending 1884 show a large and universal increase in intemperance in spite of all our progress and temperance effort. Thus there are twenty-six thousand more drunken and disorderly cases than five years ago. The revival of trade is rapidly bringing us to the terrible state of the last season of commercial prosperity; and what a curious conjurer the liquor traffic is! More prosperity, more money; more money, more drink; more drink, more crime; more crime, more expense; more expense, less prosperity. Our police alone cost us £3,542,437 in 1885, and half this army of "publicans' footmen" would be unnecessary were it not for our customs and facilities in the matter of drinking.

\* \* \* \* \*

The special phenomena of female intemperance and its increase are illustrated by the fact that of the "incurable" class, *i.e.*, those who have been in prison more than ten times, only 4,391 are men, and 8,946 are women; though taking all crime, the proportion of men to women is as 3 to 1. And, moreover, to take the last five years, women of this class have exceeded the men in the following increasing ratio: 1,967—2,109—3,155—3,348—4,555. Or, to put it more forcibly still, the percentage of male incurables to the total number of those recommitted has varied only from 8·2 to 8·9; while the female percentage began at 22·4 and has increased to 29·3 (to 33·2 in 1885)!

\* \* \* \* \*

The other day I heard an eminent doctor, president of a medical association, declare with great vigour, "There was a time when medical men gave alcohol right and left, in a manner that I consider simply disgraceful." The

force of this remark was perhaps enhanced by his careful disclaimer of being a teetotaler. I thought of his words when going into the case of a young woman who, having become a dipsomaniac, almost stripped her father's house to get the means to buy spirits, and then, leaving home, attempted suicide. I found from her father that the mischief began after an attack of typhoid fever, when the doctor dosed her with brandy, and told him that she could not have too much. Yet Sir W. Gull says, "Typhus and other fevers may be cured without alcohol;" and Dr. N. Kerr says, "My experiments show—as those of Gairdner, Bishop, Henderson, Mudge, and Nichols have previously done—that all forms of fever can be successfully treated with little or no alcohol."

\* \* \* \* \*

People must not take for gospel everything they read in books written by ex-prisoners. For instance, the last book of that description, entitled "Eighteen Months' Imprisonment," gives a detailed account of how the writer managed to see an execution while awaiting trial. As a matter of fact and record, what was then the last execution in Newgate was in December, 1880, whereas the writer of "Eighteen Months" was not there until December, 1881. And this is only a sample of the inaccuracies and misstatements of his book.

\* \* \* \* \*

What is religious instruction according to the standard of our board schools? Here is a boy apprehended for a theft committed on the very day he was released from imprisonment for another theft; he is a very sharp lad, and amongst other prizes from a London Board School has had one for religious knowledge. But he does not

know the Lord's Prayer, and, as far as he can, follows his father in being a professed "Secularist."

\* \* \* \* \*

But I wish the school net were more diligently and successfully cast. How is it that in London one constantly finds juvenile offenders who cannot read, and whose schooling consists of a few sporadic days of attendance? Of 78,416 persons apprehended in London in 1882, there were 8,426 males and 4,677 females who could neither read nor write, while 45,021 males and 17,665 females are described as being able to "read only, or read and write imperfectly." These do not all date from a pre-School-Boardic era, nor need they have escaped the compulsory bye-laws.

\* \* \* \* \*

If it were not for intemperance, crime would be seen to have marvellously decreased in the metropolitan area, when one considers the vast annual addition to the population, which is estimated now at 300,000. Thus the apprehensions in 1882 were no more than those in 1872, and only 5,000 more than those in 1852, and even only 1,000 less than the figures for 1832, when not merely the population but also the police district was infinitely smaller.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our police-court cells want much improvement and more supervision. Here is a weak-minded girl who is sent up for re-examination decently and fully clad, and returns to prison with only five articles of clothing left, *videlicet*, a hat, two boots, a scanty petticoat, and an ulster. It is difficult to gather from her whether she was robbed by the fellow prisoner who was put into the same cell with her, or whether she gave her clothes away;

neither course, however, should or could have been possible with proper supervision.

\* \* \* \* \*

The perfect and secure separation of the sexes, and the provision that females should only be guarded and attended by female warders, is a comparatively modern improvement for which there was undoubted need, and now no male officer has a key that would admit him into a female cell ; and when the governor, or doctor, or chaplain are paying their visits they must be accompanied by a female officer. But where is this carefulness to be found in our police-cells? Some very unpleasant charges are occasionally brought against the police (often, no doubt, without the least truth) which could never have been thought of in a prison.

\* \* \* \* \*

The aggregation in police-cells or at sessions-houses while awaiting trial is a nuisance and a harm to many a prisoner, and has occasionally culminated in a murder, such as happened recently in North Shields Police Station. Moreover, many of these cells want rigid inspection by independent persons as to their adequacy, capacity, and cleanliness. Let the police-cells merely of London be inspected on Monday morning, before the night charges of Saturday and Sunday are brought before the magistrates ; look at the floors and walls ; keep your nostrils open as long as you can ; note the absence of any attempt at natural selection ; imagine the power of petty annoyance put into the hands of the temporary guardians of these prisoners ; note the presence of humidity, and the absence of caloric, which is eminently calculated to advance any weakness or ailment a stage, and to lay the foundation for some new one ; see how inadequate is the



number of separate cellulets—a prison cell is a palace in comparison—to the numbers that are reasonably expected at certain times and seasons ; hear the evidence of those who have occupied these places, and then say if some reform in the matter is a minor or an unnecessary thing.

\* \* \* \* \*

One of the most common amongst the innumerable mistakes the external public make about the inmates of our prisons is that all criminals belong to the criminal class, and that the criminal class is an homogeneous body, out of which no good can come. But, as a matter of fact, at least a third of those in prison, except for one fault or one detection, no more belong to the criminal class than their captors, their judges, or their guardians, and at the expiration of their sentence are the less—and not the more—likely to commit a crime than many against whose name nothing has been brought. Thus, of persons convicted in 1882, 66 per cent. of the males and 41 per cent. of the females had not been “in trouble” before ; and though a few of these might be members of the criminal class and profession, yet the vast majority would not be.

\* \* \* \* \*

Nor is this criminal class—(why do people always speak of the criminal *classes* ? All classes provide criminals and have their own kind of criminality, whilst there is only one class that by heredity and choice is criminal in essence)—so distinct a type as many imagine, as not a few members of an undoubtedly criminal family may be perfectly respectable and virtuous. Take one instance, in which I know the family history well : The father was a drunkard, but I know nothing against his widow. Three of the sons are now in penal servitude—

two of them for the second time—but the other three sons are honest and hard-working; and the young wife of one of these convicts (whose autobiography has been given in Chapter I.) is one of my heroines.

\* \* \* \* \*

Why? Because, though young, illiterate, and not strong, she is keeping herself and two young sons by unwearied toil at box-making, by which she makes from nine to eleven shillings a week, paying three and three-pence rent for an unfurnished room. It always cheers and strengthens me to visit her and to note her fortitude and sweet temper, while her fingers are busily producing the gross of boxes for which she will get perhaps two shillings. Would any reader like to pay for her children being kept in a day nursery? It is worth more than sixpence a day to her not to have to feed them entirely and to be rid of the necessary distraction from her work their presence causes; but how can she find the pence when work is precarious in amount, if not in existence?

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Another common mistake, or rather a cynical assumption, is that of course all prisoners assert their innocence. Some do, and deceive no one; some do, and but speak the truth, as several recent and notorious cases have shown. But lately I inquired of five hundred men and women, on remand or awaiting trial—and such would be far more likely untruly to assert their innocence than after conviction—and I found that two hundred and fifty-two admitted their guilt.

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If people will keep dangerous pets, no wonder their servants suffer. If so many licenses (and so much license) are given to "the trade," no wonder that

Government has to pay a heavy bill in the way of sick-pay and compensation to the police who are assaulted and injured in the discharge of their duties. There are some three thousand cases of assaults on the police annually in London alone, and few of these are unconnected with drunkenness or take place far from a public-house. I took the other day twelve consecutive cases of assaults of this kind, and only two were, possibly, not drink-begotten.

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What queer names one comes across sometimes! Dickens, who revelled in such, yet gave ordinary names to most of the criminals described in his pages. He might have been derided for unreality if he had taken from my note-books Messrs. Eliakim Death, Lemuel Loversidge, and Lemon Pepper, and Mesdames Silence Britton, Melinda Ambrose, Pamela Chisnell, Albina Crowest, Heasman Tooke, Brelenia Keates, and Omega Trinder—though the last, by the way, was, I believe, a man.

\* \* \* \* \*

Quaint expressions are still more common. Some arise from the desire to use the correct medical terms for a complaint, which seems to have some merit and glory about it if described in long terms, *e.g.*, "Baby died of remembrance of the brain." "I had discussion on the brain, which brought on deludeness." "I've got asparalisy." "I'm an object to wakeness." "Pulperation of the heart." "Information on the lungs;" and finally, "I have population of the heart, spavined wind, and a very weak dissection of the chest."

\* \* \* \* \*

So, too, legal terms, however familiar may be that

which they represent, present some difficulty to Mr. William Sykes. "I am commanded for a week on expsicion," is a common phrase, while another speaks of having "a few days' incarnation here."

\* \* \* \* \*

Would that servants, mothers, and mistresses, each with their own share in the responsibility for the harm the matter produces, would consider the evils of perpetually changing place for place in domestic service. The deterioration of character and general want of stability thus engendered is certainly one of the minor causes of crime. I hardly ever find a woman in prison who has remained long in one situation, while daily I meet with the evil effects of flitting from place to place, with or without provocation, and with or without the knowledge and approbation of the girl's mother. Here is a maid, aged 17, charged with theft from her fifth place; another, aged 15, who has had five places; a girl, aged 21, who has been in service since she was 12, but never remained nine months in a place; another, aged 28, has had 24 places; another, aged 18, has had over 12 places, besides being twice in a Home for four months. Carelessness on the part of mothers, and want of consideration on the part of mistresses, are as real causes of this mischief and the greater evils it produces, as are the moral defects of the girls themselves.

\* \* \* \* \*

Some were a little puzzled when they found on a man, apprehended for theft, a well-used copy of the *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, which can hardly compete with the *Police News* or the sporting papers in the usual estimation of my predatory friends. But the fact was, that he was one of those who regularly attend the London confirmations

to induce more holy poverty by the exercise of their craft as pickpockets.

\* \* \* \* \*

People talk of holy poverty, but there is a great deal of unholy wealth—unholy in its origin, unholy in its distribution, unholy in its non-distribution. When a poor woman gets punished for stealing a fur jacket belonging to one of the upper classes, and that jacket is appraised at £300, sufficient to keep five families for a year as wages go, I feel inclined to wish there might be a revival of sumptuary laws, and that certain expenditure, or expenditure in certain ways, might be branded as profligate and immoral.

\* \* \* \* \*

Not, of course, that luxury is confined to any class, or impossible to any. To take one industry alone, I have met lately the following instances of immoral expenditure:—1. Coalwhipper, makes from £2 to £4 per week, has spent £1 a day in beer for himself and others; once abstained for nine months, and saved £10; 2. Collier, aged 29, usually sits in a public-house from 5 to 11 p.m., has taken 17 fourpennyworths of whisky at a sitting, knows teetotal colliers who own a couple of dozen houses; 3. Coalheaver, gets 5s. to 6s. a day, sometimes £1, gives his parents 5s. 6d. a week for his board and lodging, and spends the rest chiefly in drink; 4. Gas-stoker, 32, earns 38s. a week, spends 2s. 4d. in lodging, 8s. in food, 4d. in washing, and the rest in drink, and always is penniless by Tuesday.

\* \* \* \* \*

A correspondent writes: "Next week I have to take part in a debate on the question, 'Does Ignorance, Wealth, or Poverty contribute most to the Production of

Crime?" These are all no doubt causes of crime, but minor causes, and not to be compared with Intemperance, Impurity, Laziness, and Bad Temper. With regard to Ignorance, one can get no clear evidence or trustworthy statistics to prove that the greater attention to educational matters has largely diminished even juvenile crime. There are fewer boys and girls sent to prison happily, but this arises from various causes, and not entirely from their increased virtue and intelligence. On the other hand, we find boys swindle and forge in a precocious manner, which is attributable not to ignorance, but to instruction.

\* \* \* \* \*

By wealth as a cause of crime, I presume the desire of wealth or the envy of wealth is meant, which is not the same thing. Of course covetousness inspires and debases the gambler, whether on the Stock Exchange or on the turf, as well as the burglar and the pickpocket; and in another way wealth operates evilly by keeping up a supply of poor wretches who cannot ignore or be unattracted by the "prizes" of their miserable profession—the becoming the mistress or even the wife of a rich or titled man.

\* \* \* \* \*

With regard to poverty, it is tremendously to the credit of the poor that it is very little a cause of crime. "Crime is æstival" is a well-known canon, and our prison population rises with prosperity and the consequent power of getting drink. Bad times and the slackness of work in winter produces less crime, and not more. To take the first figures that come to hand, I find that the prison population in July, 1878, was 21,000, and in

the following January only 18,700. In October it was 20,700, and in April only 18,400. So, again, to take a single form of crime to which it might be thought poverty largely disposed persons—attempts at suicide. Out of 1,900 consecutive cases in my books, 1,103 occurred in the summer half of the year, and 797 in the winter. Even amongst offences against property, poverty is responsible for little beyond the cases of illegal pawn-ing (usually of blankets from a furnished room), and does not largely induce other forms of dishonesty.

\* \* \* \*

I am glad to observe that Mr. Ramsey, on his release from the sentence he received under the prosecution of the *Freethinker*, said at a large meeting of sympathisers, that “so far as their duties allowed them, every officer in the prison had been kind to him. They were so to everybody, . . . and that meeting might take it as a fact that no person was ill-used in prison unless he deserved it. There was no personal cruelty in prisons.” It does not seem to have occurred to him that this state of affairs was at all due to the influence of what he proceeded to denounce as an “accursed creed;” but it is well to notice that, in less than a century, nay, less than half a century, we have progressed from a state of matters in our prisons which none could justify, to one which none could honestly accuse of the presence of unnecessary hardship or the absence of necessary good. The many books and papers written by ex-prisoners indicate a desire to find fault and manufacture “horrors” which may create a sale for a bit of smart writing, yet they invariably fail in proving the existence of any real and preventable abuse.

\* \* \* \*

We take very little notice of names and ages in prison, as from various reasons they are apt to alter with each entrance. Thus Frederick Lane, aged 15, has just been sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. He has previously been in custody as Alfred Miller, aged 15, John Smith, aged 16, John Collins, aged 16, John Kate, aged 17, John Klythe, aged 17, and John Keytes, aged 17. In 1883 he is 15; in 1881 he was 17. But lads and lasses are usually over 16 while there is a chance of their being sent to a Reformatory, as those institutions cannot receive them at that age. And as regards aliases (most futile of disguises) one Bridget Kingstry furnishes a list of 16 different names she has borne in her 39 convictions.

\* \* \* \* \*

Convicted prisoners can earn by good conduct a gratuity to help them on discharge, and this may amount to 10s. Only unfortunately (and perhaps inevitably) this money is not given on the principle of real merit or need. Short-timers, presumably more deserving than long-timers, cannot earn so much, and either a rich man or a hopeless drunkard would yet receive his gratuity, as a matter of course, if he had been decently behaved in prison. Thus I remember a man complaining much that his gratuity was paid in ten separate shillings, whereas he wanted a half-sovereign of which to make a breast-pin as a memento of his imprisonment. And to-day there comes in a woman who received 10s. on discharge from eight months, spent it all the same day in drink with other women discharged at the same time, and next day she was locked up again. If gratuities over 2s. 6d. were never given in cash, but dispensed through a Prisoner's Aid Society (as may be done), much



recidivism, much waste, much real injury to those supposed to be benefited would be saved.

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A brother chaplain, suspecting that these gratuities did little good, marked all the moneys that were given to those discharged one morning. Next day he sent to the public-house opposite the prison for a pound's worth of silver, and nearly all of it consisted of his marked coin.

\* \* \* \* \*

The *Globe* manages in all good faith to condense a good many errors into the following paragraph :—"Weston completed the first thousand miles of his walking tour the day before yesterday. It has never been suggested as an invaluable argument in favour of teetotalism that convicts, under conditions of the strictest enforced sobriety, are enabled day after day for long periods to walk their appointed distances upon the treadmill, without once leaving the track." 1. The argument from the healthiness and the low death-rate of prisoners—half that of the Isle of Wight and a third of that of London—is commonly and conclusively used to show the non-necessity of alcohol for those undergoing hard labour, whether as bond or free. 2. Convicts and convicted prisoners are separate classes, the former being those sentenced to penal servitude, the latter those sentenced for felony or misdemeanour for terms extending from one day to two years. Convicts have no treadmill existing for their benefit. 3. Only about a third of our local prisons, and none of our convict prisons, have any treadwheel. Thus, in London, of Coldbath Fields, Westminster, Newgate, Clerkenwell, Holloway, and Wandsworth Prisons, and Pentonville, Brixton, Fulham,

and Wormwood Scrubbs Convict Prisons, only Coldbath Fields and Holloway have this provision for enforcing first-class hard labour. 4. Only a few prisoners, from being certified unfit, from passing out of the first stage, and from the deficiency of machines, get on a treadwheel at all. 5. As to "long periods" of such labour, no one is put to it (save as a special punishment) after emerging from the first stage, which lasts under three months. 6. As to not once leaving the track, no one has more than six hours a day of such labour, and this is divided into two periods; and, moreover, after every fifteen minutes on the wheel each man has five minutes' rest.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is, however, very properly the desire and intention of the Prison Commissioners to increase the number of treadwheels, as supplying a form of real, and therefore deterrent hard labour which cannot be shirked, injures no one, and supplies motive-power which can readily be utilized in grinding flour and other ways. W. Sikes, Esq., however, has no love whatever for the wheel of life, the everlasting staircase, the vertical care-grinder, as he euphemistically calls it.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have spoken before of the evils arising from inadequate accommodation and supervision in the cells at police-stations or police-courts: here are two women coming in simultaneously who re-illustrate the point. One was taken up for being drunk and disorderly and assaulting the police, and is put into the same police-cell with another female drunkard with whom she has a dreadful fight which has left her face scarred all over. The other is put into a police-court cell with two other

women after being before the magistrate, and by a clever trick changes clothes with one who is only waiting for a fine to be paid, and so walks out free though awaiting trial for felony.

\* \* \* \* \*

Woe to that country in which men are not able to consider women as living lives on the whole more sober, righteous, and godly than their own ! Sad, therefore, is it to note that during 1882, in the police divisions of Whitehall and Marylebone, there were more women than men taken up for drunkenness, and that on the separate charge of being drunk and disorderly the women preponderated in Whitehall, Westminster, Marylebone, Holborn, Lambeth, and Thames divisions, the aggregate being 5,501 females to 5,226 males.

\* \* \* \* \*

Christmas in prison ! It does not sound more cheerful than it is, especially to those whose ideas of any feast soar no higher than their stomach. For what will be the Christmas fare of those awaiting trial or on remand this year (unless they have friends able and willing to send them in food from the outside) ? For breakfast, a six-ounce loaf of bread and a pint of gruel, or skilly, as it is usually called. For dinner, on Tuesdays, there is another "sixer," six ounces of potatoes, and three-quarters of a pint of pea-soup. For supper, the same as for breakfast. If convicted, the dietary is of four kinds, according to age, sex, labour, &c. In the first class the Christmas breakfast will be eight ounces of bread ; for dinner, a pint and a half of "stirabout," which delicacy is mainly made of meal and Indian corn ; and for supper, eight ounces of bread. In the second, third, and fourth

classes breakfast and supper will consist of from six to eight ounces of bread with a pint of gruel ; while dinner will be the six-ounce loaf and half a pint of soup for those in the second class, eight ounces of bread and eight of potatoes with three-quarters of a pint of soup for the third class, and in the fourth class a whole pint of soup is given.

\* \* \* \* \*

So that, as regards Christmas fare, the workhouses lord it over the prisons ; though ordinarily the comparison is not so much to their advantage, as in the matter of solids the burglar receives in the course of the week 260 ounces, and the able-bodied pauper (the Southwark dietary is before me) but 166 ounces. With regard to other articles of diet (porridge, soup, and meat broth) the advantage is on the side of the pauper, who receives 24 pints against 16½ pints given to the prisoner. But as after all, bread in either case is the chief staple of diet, it is well to notice that the prisoner receives of good whole-meal bread 164 ounces a week, and the pauper but 84 ounces, and that of a less sustaining kind.

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None who are interested in the philosophy of crime and punishments should be ignorant of the remarkable essay on this matter by the Marquis Beccaria, of Milan. It is ancient, but by no means obsolete ; ingenious and original, without being crotchety or impracticable ; and both fearless and humane to an extent that is surprising when one considers the age and the country in which he lived. A commentary by Voltaire on this essay is commonly bound up with it, but the greater name covers thought and language much inferior to that of Beccaria.

The "new edition corrected" now before me was published in Edinburgh in 1778, and apparently about eighteen months after its first appearance in Italian. The translator's preface is chiefly remarkable for the admission that in England there was much to regret in "the confinement of debtors, the filth and horrors of our prisons, the cruelty of jailers, and the extortion of the petty officers of justice, to all which may be added the melancholy reflection that the number of criminals put to death in England is much greater than in any other part of Europe."

\* \* \* \*

A hundred years thence and not one of those evils existed, with the exception of the last, which I am afraid is still true relatively to population, and probably absolutely, if we except Russia. In England and Wales in the thirty years ending 1881 there were 372 executions out of 665 sentences of death and 2,005 committals for murder. Taking the last five years we find that in 1878 there were twenty sentenced to death, of whom fifteen were hung, four had their sentence commuted to penal servitude for life, and one was sent to Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum. In 1879 there were thirty-four sentenced, sixteen hung, thirteen sent to penal servitude for life, one received one year's hard labour, and four went to Broadmoor; in 1880, of twenty-eight sentenced, thirteen were hung, fourteen sent to penal servitude for life, and one for ten years; in 1881, of twenty-three sentenced, eleven were hung, nine sent into lifelong slavery, and three to Broadmoor; in 1882, there were twenty-two sentenced, twelve hung, seven became "lifers," and three went to Broadmoor.

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On the subject of capital punishment Beccaria has much to say. "What right," he asks, "have men to cut the throats of their fellow-creatures?" The right of self-defence, I presume, which may authorize a State to amputate a limb it considers so hopelessly corrupt as to be a standing source of danger to the rest of the body, to say nothing of the desire to deter, which is one element in all punishment. "Capital punishment," he says, "is a war of a whole nation against a citizen." True, and if war is admitted to be justifiable under certain conditions, such a war cannot be declared to be never necessary or useful. He thinks penal servitude for life "in sight of his fellow citizens" would be a greater deterrent to an intending assassin. Possibly; but criminals are not exposed to the public view, and if they were, compassion more than abhorrence or fear would be excited, especially when the offender had outlived the memory of the offence, or suffered his punishment far from any who knew him or the details of his crimes.

\* \* \* \*

Again, he thinks it absurd that "the laws in order to prevent murder should publicly commit murder themselves." This is obviously a rhetorical epigram, the falsity of which the definition of the terms used would at once demonstrate. Would he consider it equally absurd for an act of petty larceny to be punished by a fine, the law taking away a man's property because he had taken the property of others?

\* \* \* \*

Voltaire in his comments takes the line that "a man after he is hanged is good for nothing, and that punishment ought to be useful to society." But this is begging

the question, as a dead crow is useful as a scarecrow, and many a man good for nothing in his life has by the lurid light of a miserable end become good for something as a warning beacon, and it is quite as impossible to demonstrate that capital punishment is no deterrent to vice and passion as it is, perhaps, hard to demonstrate that it does so act. Those who have by their position and work intimate relations with the criminal class, commonly believe that the existence of such punishment does act as a deterrent, however much they regret or object to it on other grounds. Voltaire makes, however, one excellent observation—"The sword of justice is in our hands, but we ought rather to blunt than to sharpen its edge."

\* \* \* \* \*

This seems to point to the desirability, not of the insanity of thinking all murderers insane, on arguments which would apply to all crime, nor of the French fashion of usually finding extenuating circumstances on the most attenuated grounds, but of establishing degrees of guilt, and therefore of punishment, in the matter of murder. John Stuart Mill declared for capital punishment *if* the crime had been conclusively proved, *if* no palliation of the offence were possible, *if* the crime were not exceptional but the result of the ordinary disposition of the criminal, and *if* there were no hope of future worthiness to be found in that bad citizen. But these limitations obviously exclude the great majority of cases which would then fall back into "murder in the second degree," which need not be met by the solemn blotting of the offender out of the list of citizens by a judicial death. Plainly there is a difference between the guilt of a wholesale poisoner who commits his crimes coolly and

for gain, and that of one who deals an unlucky blow after aggravation and in drink, which had it fallen an inch to the right or left might have been legally only an assault or wounding, to be punished by but a few months' imprisonment. Some murderers are deadly reptiles to be crushed by the State; some only ill-trained and ill-tempered children who must be taught, indeed, the consequences of their want of self-control, but may change their habits as effectually as did he who in his youth struck down the Egyptian, and in his old age became the meekest of men.

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Happily these rattlesnakes have their rattles as well as their venom. I remember one who would certainly be ranked as a murderer in the first degree, and was afterwards hung, saying as an argument for his innocence that if guilty he could not have been such a fool as to have taken a certain step which would obviously lead to his detection and apprehension. I answered that without in the least assuming his guilt I could not admit the force of his contention, as I had commonly noticed that knaves were also fools, and that many a criminal in doing something to hide his guilt had been strangely oblivious to the fact that he simultaneously did exactly the thing which would defeat his purpose.

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Not only from necessity but also by the rash enterprise of inexperience, and even occasionally by jobbery, the building of prisons has been an expensive matter. Will it be believed that Millbank originally cost £458,000, besides which the outlay of many additional thousands was needed in a few years for repairs arising from un-



satisfactory work ? Pentonville cost more than £90,000, and Reading Gaol £51,000.

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It is curious that in two days lately I had three cases of those who had attempted suicide by placing themselves on the railway, whereas some years ago, when I tabulated 300 consecutive cases of attempted suicide, there were only two of this kind. But the publicity given in the papers to any crime invariably produces a crop of imitators. There is little originality in crime, and less in the excuses that are made for it : when one hears the beginning of a lame defence one can generally, by experience, tell what the middle and the end of the story will be.

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The idea of the reformation of the criminal which ought to co-exist with the ideas of punishment, of deterring others, and of protection to the State, is in a little danger of not receiving its due attention and its proper place when prison reform has been chiefly directed to improvements in discipline and sanitation. The very power of language would, however, it is to be hoped, prevent reformation from being lost sight of in reformatories, and therefore it is cheering to notice that in the recent report of the Royal Commission on Reformatories and Industrial Schools the office and value of religion are very distinctly upheld. Thus they "bear willing testimony to the great services rendered by the benevolent individuals without whose personal labour and aid the State would have been unable to accomplish the work." They would "suggest no regulations which would prevent religious sisterhoods or brotherhoods from carrying on reforma-

tories or industrial schools"—a happy contrast to Government action in miserable France, whereby the best teachers and nurses to be found have been banished from the schools and the hospitals simply for being religious. Again, they speak of the religious zeal which often prompts the efforts of managers and their missionary work in the schools as being "of the highest value." They advise the assistance of ladies on committees and as visitors, and say, "A striking example of their influence is to be found in the bright tone of the girls in many of the Roman Catholic industrial schools and reformatories, especially those in Ireland, conducted by Sisters of Charity."

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In our reformatories there were, in 1882, 6,601 juvenile offenders at a cost of £134,204, of which only £5,918 was received from parents in spite of the order which is usually made on them for payment; and in our industrial schools there were 17,714 at a cost of £338,200. Deducting all payments made by parents, parochial or school boards, rates, subscriptions, and legacies, the amount the Treasury had to provide for our children in reformatory or industrial schools was over a quarter of a million.

\* \* \* \* \*

Out of 33,588 discharges in 1882, emigration (ordinarily the best way of giving them a fresh start in life) accounts for 2,241, while 3,924 were sent to sea, and 631 enlisted. Of those discharged as incorrigible there were 89 girls to 202 boys, a proportion which is no credit to the gentle sex, who were only 7,754 to 32,575 boys in the total admissions.

\* \* \* \* \*

A man aged 50 was discharged from prison in 1883 after being twenty-three years in prison. His gratuity amounted to no less than £56 18s. 6d., as he was convicted before the Act of 1864, which limited the amount paid to convicts to the sum of £6 at the most. It is satisfactory to know that the sum was handed to a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society to be prudently disbursed, and that he is working at his trade and doing very well, while only £20 of the amount due to him has been drawn out. But in the foolish old days all long-term prisoners came out with large sums gained simply by the length of their sentence, and therefore by the heinousness of their crime, and of course they found "friends" waiting outside the gates to help them spend the money at once, and that in such a way as to ensure the dissipation of any good resolution or intentions.

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I am sorry to say that I cannot see any exaggeration in the conclusions of the Rev. H. Rowley in his pamphlet on Social Purity, entitled "Is it nothing to you?" They are these :—

Of the women of London 60,000 are prostitutes.

Of the women of England and Wales, 180,000.

Of the entire female population, 1 out of every 51.

Of the entire number of women between the ages of 15 and 40, 1 out of every 35.

Of the women of the same age in towns, 1 out of 25.

Of the entire number of unmarried women between 15 and 40, 1 out of every 16.

Of the unmarried of the same age in towns, 1 out of every 10.

That as at least ten men are necessary to maintain one

prostitute, 1 in 7 of the entire male population are whore-mongers.

That of males between 17 and 70, one of every 3 thus sins.

\* \* \* \*

And then we must add those who live only partly on the rewards of harlotry and those who in all ranks of society are living in concubinage, whether after a time of prostitution or not, and then we get an awful view of one side of one evil against which we are pledged by our baptismal vows to fight, and not to be content with mere abstention from active complicity in it.

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“Seeking and Saving” gives a list which is nearly complete of 89 Homes and Penitentiaries in connection with the Church of England in which there is accommodation for about 2,000 women—and very little is done in this direction save by the Church of England—but “what are they amongst so many?” And why, when every Christian or patriot should be more than ready to give to such institutions either a sin-offering or a thank-offering for preservation from sin, are these cities of refuge so crippled for want of funds? If we have no special interest in any particular Home for local or personal reasons we should all be supporters of the Church Penitentiary Association.

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At a meeting held in New York, Feb. 26, 1884, the following resolutions were passed: 1. That we heartily approve of the purpose and works of the Prison Association of New York, and most earnestly commend it to the consideration and support of Christian Churches

throughout the State. 2. That we hereby recommend each of the Churches throughout the State upon one Sunday in the year to consider the relation of Christian people to the reformation of criminals, and we further recommend that a committee of this body be appointed to fix upon a Sunday for such consideration, and to give notice of the same to all religious societies throughout the State. This is signed by the Bishops of New York and Long Island, and by more than seventy other clergymen and ministers. Why not? and why should America be so far ahead of us in this respect? I managed to get the subject considered at one Church Congress, as a third part of a sectional meeting, but when shall we see that a Prison Sunday would be quite as good a thing in its way as a Hospital Sunday?

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I wish it could be generally recognized that only the lowest of the people, those who had no regard for the health of either body, mind, or soul, could be found to take places as barmen or potmen in the average public-house with a seven-days' license. Here is a lad of nineteen who has attempted suicide and is on the brink of melancholy madness, partly because he has just been made an orphan, but also in consequence of his hours and conditions of work as a potman. He has had to work from 8 a.m. to 11 p.m. on week-days and only an hour less on Sundays, and his time for recreation or other duties has been from 9 p.m. to 11 p.m. one night a week, and from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. on Sundays. And then we are virtuously complacent as having abolished slavery!

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“An East End Parson,” writing on discharged prisoners

in the *Banner*, makes two excellent remarks worthy of full consideration by the public and by workers amongst the fallen. He says, "If the criminal population is to be reduced, the result must be brought about by re-absorption into the ranks of honesty, as well as by stopping the supply of new recruits." The latter part of the work is being done largely and successfully by means of industrial schools, Bands of Hope, and the general attention paid to the young whose environment is bad or doubtful; the former part is left chiefly to the ex-criminals themselves, and few are those who will actively promote this restoration, which even from the lowest point of view—that of the pocket—is so advantageous to the State. And his second remark is to be weighed by those that do work as much as his first by those that do not. It is that "after all, every work has its failures, and these may proceed as much from the incompetency of the agent as the villainy of the subject."

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The Report of the Royal Commissioners on Local Prisons in Ireland reveals the regrettable and discreditable fact that, except in Belfast and Dublin, there are no towns in Ireland where Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies exist. The want is greatest in the case of male prisoners, for whom a small Protestant Society in Dublin is the only one in any part of Ireland. In Dublin, and more so in Belfast, discharged female prisoners are well cared for. What are the chaplains about? These and other defects would speedily be removed if there were a Chaplain-General of Prisons, part of whose duties would naturally be to see to the establishment and the efficiency of societies for aid on discharge.

\* \* \* \*

Oh those respectable parents ! Here is a girl whom I got from prison into a Home, where she did very well, but would not communicate with her friends until she could show them she had really and for some time persevered in good ways. After seven months an excellent place was found for her, and she gave every satisfaction. Proudly then she wrote to her mother, telling her how she had regained a character and a position. No answer came, and the poor girl, upset, rushed away, leaving a note saying she could not bear it. The mother when found simply said she didn't see it was any use to answer her daughter's letter.

\* \* \* \*

One of the best workers for discharged prisoners in America writes that the usual inevitable difficulty of finding places and employment for ex-prisoners is complicated by a cause that happily we do not suffer much from in England—the tyranny of the Trades Unions, who will have no “gaol-birds” in the large shops they control. Such meanness may be found everywhere in the case of individuals, but we should have hoped that associations of men with high aims and large professions would not have been so uncharitable towards their brethren who have been detected.

\* \* \* \*

A lady writes to know if she could bring her young servant, who is addicted to petty pilfering, to see the prison, that she may be deterred from developing the evil. Prisons can only be visited (voluntarily) by an order from the Home Office, and in such a case the means proposed would rather tend to defeat the end desired, for the ideal prison in a girl's mind would be infinitely worse than the

reality—at any rate to the eye. In fact, one of the chief evils connected with the sending juvenile offenders to prison, *en route* for a reformatory or as a punishment, is that they find it a very tolerable place, and in many respects much better than their homes, and hereafter the wholesome dread of being “run in” largely disappears. Boys who have been in would prefer imprisonment to a birching; boys who have not been in would prefer a birching to being sent to prison.

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Classification! classification! classification! is the great cry of all the most experienced workers, whether in prisons, reformatories, or voluntary Homes. The separation of, at any rate, most first offenders from regular gaol-birds; of the lad who gets five years' penal servitude for a single offence in a post-office from the burglar who gets the same term after many previous convictions; of the “juvenile offender” who has remained in a reformatory until he is 19, 20, or even 21 years of age, from the naughty child of 10 who finds his way to the same place; of the young girl who has been but recently seduced from the prostitute of many years' standing, is a matter of most vital importance which has not received its due attention from the paucity of institutions and the scantiness of support they have received. The chaplain of one of the largest reformatories writes to the Howard Association: “The evils resulting from a promiscuous intercourse of the elder and younger boys can hardly be described.” Mrs. Monsell, the late Mother of Clewer, was perpetually urging all workers amongst the fallen to classify if they would effect a lasting reformation. Royal Commissions, whether on convict prisons or reformatories, have dwelt on the same point. Surely it is either a penny-wise-and-



pound-foolish policy, or the sluggishness of officialism, which delays these necessary reforms! No one who has visited two such excellently managed reformatories as Feltham and Red Hill can have failed to notice their difference, and to see that the barrack system of the former must be infinitely inferior to the family system of the latter. So, too, a juvenile prison for London, which should be at once a house of detention and a house of correction for first offenders, such as America has established at Elmira, would also be a wise and just step.

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Again those mothers! I wrote to the Sunday School teacher of a lad on remand who seemed teachable, bespeaking special attention when he was free, and she writes, "Poor lad, he is—as you say—weak, and his home is a wretched one; his mother seemed to think that if he did steal it would be a good thing, for then he would be placed in a reformatory and be off her hands." There is no doubt that parents often get children to steal for this purpose.

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It is a pity that reporters always take notice of the statements of prisoners that they have been hunted down by the police and lost situations through their interference. I can only say that I have frequently heard these statements, frequently examined them, and never found one to be true. The only well-founded complaint that I have met with was from a woman on ticket-of-leave, who had been requested to change her lodgings, as a detective told her landlord (who was a friend of his) what she was. I helped her a little, and now she writes: "I have been in my situation for twelve months, and have never had

any one from Scotland Yard but once, about nine months ago, and no one would ever have known who the person was, even if they had seen her."

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The oldest book about prisons and prisoners with which I have met is that of Geffray Mynshul, of Grays Inn, Gent. It was published in 1618, having been written in the King's Bench Prison in Southwark during the author's imprisonment for debt, and it is worth notice for its quaint style and racy delineations of character, as well as for the side-light which it throws upon contemporary life. Not his apparently are the lines prefixed to his essays in a reprint that appeared in 1821, which run thus :

"A prison is a house of care,  
A place where none can thrive,  
A touchstone true to try a friend,  
A grave for one alive.  
Sometimes a place of right,  
Sometimes a place of wrong,  
Sometimes a place of rogues and thieves,  
And honest men among."

\* \* \* \* \*

In these days of yachting round the world, and of running out to Calcutta for a short visit, and when prison mortality is only a third that of the general death-rate of England, it is remarkable to read that Mynshul considered his imprisonment "longer than an East Indian voyage, and I am sure farre more dangerous; for if, from the Indies, of sixty men, twenty come home safe, it is well; but in this, if eighty of an hundred be not cast overboard, it is a wonder."

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Speaking of fraudulent bankrupts, he pens some lines that might well be read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested in commercial circles in our days: "The gallows on which the poor theefe hangeth is most fit for thee; hee robbeth one man, thou whole families: if he kill, he doth it sodainely, and but one; when thou, with a ling'ring death, destroyest father, mother, children, and peradventure many orphans left to their charge. But look to it, that, although thou compound for two or three shillings in the pound, the overplus will damn thee and thy angells" (the coin of that name) "with the divell and his angels, and thy issue or allies which shall enjoy them shall never prosper with them."

\* \* \* \*

And surely the necessity of mercy reigning, even in a place of justice, and discipline being tempered with kindness, has rarely been more beautifully enforced than in the following words: "A prisoner is a poore, weather-beaten bird, who, having lost the shoare, is driven by tempest to hang upon the sailes and tacklings of a prison: the jayler is the saylor, and if hee beate that bird off to sinke her in the seas, when by climbing up to the mainetop, or perhaps by lifting up his hand, hee may take it and lend it heat from his warme bosome, it is an argument that his heart is made of the same rocks that lie in wait to destroy ships in the ocean."

\* \* \* \*

And when he writes that "a prison is nothing else but a great ale-house; for every chamber is nothing els but a continual drinking roome," we remember that nearly two hundred years afterwards, Howard found the gaolers making their chief profit out of the tap they kept, from which alone the prisoners were forced to buy. He had

no prevision of the time when a prison should be delicately called Her Majesty's Teetotal Hotel.

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Nothing detracts more from the value of Dr. Morselli's nearly standard book on the phenomena of suicide (which is one of the International Scientific Series, published by Kegan Paul) than his crotchet as to the mechanical regularity which he thinks governs what he calls the laws of suicide. He holds the theory so strongly that it would be more accurate to say that the theory holds him, that there is no real independence in human actions, and that will-power no more obtains in the moral than in the physical world. I wonder, however, how he would bring under the law of regularity the altogether exceptional preponderance of males over females among those who, in 1885, attempted suicide in London. For the first time, or second, the males remanded on this charge have exceeded the females; and, whereas it has only twice or thrice happened in the last decade that the males remanded in a month were in excess, in the past year they have done so in every month, except February, April, June, July, and August. The preponderance of cases in the drougthy and drinky summer is as usual to be noted. It is not the depressing fogs of autumn, nor the slackness of work in winter, that chiefly inclines to suicide, but the days which are longer, and therefore afford more time for drinking; hotter, and therefore give more excuse for thirst; and better provided with the means whereby drink may be bought. That crime is æstival is a well-known canon, and suicide presents no exception to the rule. Thus of those remanded in 1886 there were 68 cases in the winter quarter, 77 in the spring, 93 in the autumn, and 141 in the summer

### *A MONTH'S PRISON NOTES.*

WHEN the approaching abolition of the prison made it probable that I should speedily be regretting my discharge almost as much as the prisoners hope for theirs, one of the many things in my mind was the wish that I had had time to keep a private as well as an official diary, and to have noted down from day to day such incidents or observations as might have been useful in many ways hereafter. As George Herbert, the quaint and wise Christian poet, says, "Adventure not all thy learning in one bottom, but divide it equally between thy memory and thy notebooks." True, I had kept for nine years notes of all cases of attempted suicide, which were between three and four hundred a year, and of all other cases specially commended to my notice by the magistrates; true, also, that I have a large notebook full of statistics and all sorts of curious subjects coming to my notice in prison; true, also, that my memory is retentive; but yet a daily record of things of interest would have been useful. During my last August I therefore endeavoured to make such a daily record as might show the varied nature of the work, and teach those who are not connected officially with prison work in what direc-

tion their intercessions and kindly thoughts and actions might tend.

*August 1 (Saturday).*—Forty-one males and ten females admitted yesterday. Thursdays and Fridays are our lightest days, because money runs short towards the end of the week; therefore there is less drinking; therefore there is less crime. Compare the receptions on July 20 (a Monday), which were sixty-nine males and twenty-two females. Or take Monday receptions throughout July; they amounted to 244 males and 60 females, against 155 males and 28 females on the Fridays in July.

Of the ten females eight were for my notice, two being Roman Catholics. Of the eight, three were over sixty years of age, and six were over forty. This is an unusual proportion of the elderly and old, the worst decade being that from twenty to thirty. Several of these ought to have gone into the workhouse, instead of muddling on in a state of semi-starvation. But for many reasons, some good and some bad, they not only dread the workhouse, but, in many instances, prefer prison to it, even after an experience of both institutions. One woman on my list has attempted suicide from fear of having to enter the workhouse, and even now repeats her threat of suicide if it is evident that she will have to go in.

Five prisoners have gone up this morning for re-examination on a charge of attempting suicide, leaving thirteen behind on the same charge. I have had fifty-four such cases in July, forty-three in June, and forty-one in May. Crime is æstival, because there is more intemperance in the summer than in the winter. My cases of attempting suicide in January were only twenty-eight, in February eighteen, and in March twenty-seven.

A respectable man is charged with "loitering," which

means in this instance that at 6 a.m. he went to four or five suburban villas pretending to be ill, and getting spirits for his complaint at each.

I go in the afternoon to a Workhouse Infirmary to visit poor Annie P. When, about a year ago, the magistrate reproached her for having been four hundred times convicted she was very angry, for she was sure it was not much more than three hundred times she had been taken up for drunkenness or offences arising out of it. How thankful I am she will die sober and penitent according to her light! She tells me her lungs are gone, and that last night she was interrupted seven times by violent coughing when trying to say her prayers. She thought "God could prevent this if He liked; why does He not?" and then the thought came, "It is sent to teach me to persevere." Here is more than a spark in the smoking flax.

*August 2.*—An old Brahmin who speaks no word of English is remanded for causing a disturbance by objecting to the annoyance of street-boys. His caste overcomes his hunger, and he will not take any food from us except milk, which he pours into his hands and drinks. I write to the Asiatic Home in Limehouse, and find he has strayed from thence and will be taken care of there on discharge. He reminds me of another old Indian who eventually died in prison, his chief knowledge of English being "Ninety-shix time," he having been repeatedly convicted of begging. The Asiatic Home sent him back to India once, but he promptly returned.

Write to a police-court to advise the magistrate to send to Lady Wilson's Home, in the Uxbridge Road, a girl aged 17, who, having been deserted by her parents,

has been on the streets some four months. She is quite illiterate, does not even know the "Our Father," but is quiet, teachable, and very thankful for the chance of rescue.

Advise commitment to a reformatory in the case of a young servant, aged 15, who had stolen and lied largely. The young lady had made arrangements to go to Australia with another girl, but had not thought it necessary to consult her mother on such a point. She stole in order to make presents to her "young man," with whom she had been sweethearting over a year against her mother's wish. The British mother of our day, however, is like unto a coachman who throws the reins on to the horse's neck and then complains that he cannot control it.

*August 3.*—Of nine fresh cases on the female side I find one is 18, one 19, two 20, one 21, and the average age of all nine is only 25.

A lad, aged 19, spends four shillings in fourpenny ale, and then after midnight runs out with his baby, aged 13 months, and tries to drown himself and it. His wife was a rope-ground girl, and aged 15 at her marriage. A stalwart, intellectual, and good living race is likely to arise from such parentage!

The next case to which I come is that of a lad of 17 who has attempted suicide. How? I got into a pond. Why? Because I wanted to go to sea. This sounds humorous, but it turns out that he was trying to frighten his parents into acquiescence with his wishes. It reminded me of conveying a party of Oxfordshire peasants to London *en route* for New Zealand. A man pointed out the Grand Junction Canal to his wife whenever we crossed it. I asked why? "'Cos we shall have to see a sight o' water, and I am breaking her into it like."



A rescue-worker complains to me of how Bank Holiday upsets girls who have hitherto been quiet and contented in Homes. It is commonly observed. The memories of drinks and "larks" attached to that day will come crowding in.

*August 4.*—Of sixteen fresh cases on the female side two are 14, one 15, one 17. Comparatively an aged matron is a girl of 21, who was married when 16 to a lad aged 16. Now she has stolen 10s. of his money and spent it in getting drunk, then proceeds to Waterloo Bridge and makes suicidal demonstrations. She had been drinking from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. in anticipation of Bank Holiday.

Clergyman writes about the "loiterer" mentioned on August 1, that he is a dipsomaniac and has terrible fits of craving. His children are bright and charming, his wife a superior woman, sadly troubled and straitened by his habits. "Can't he be placed in some home?" Would that he could, but where are the homes to which poor men or men that have impoverished themselves and their relations can go? Answer: In sensible countries like America and some of our colonies, but not in England. If you can pay three guineas a week you have your choice of private establishments in which to loaf and grumble; if you haven't, the asylum says you are not mad, the prison says you are not a criminal, the work-house says you are not a pauper, and so, though you are all three in a measure, you remain at home to curse and shame your friends. In America they could get rid of (for his and their benefit equally) one who is "only a dipsomaniac" as readily as they could one who is only a homicidal maniac.

*August 5.*—A woman, aged 36, has been eight years

free, but has suffered five and seven years' penal servitude. She must have begun young! She was turned out of doors "for cheek" by her stepfather when she was 15, then fell in with thieves and got five years when 15 for robbing a man of £63 in the street. She is not old, but she has outlived the possibility of a schoolgirl being sent to penal servitude for her first theft. There is such a thing as State-created crime.

A woman, aged 27, remanded for drunkenness and trying to rescue her husband, who was apprehended for being drunk and assaulting the police when they both had been "chucked out" of a public house. They had regular work and are in comfortable circumstances; but then one must enjoy Bank Holiday. They have had seven children; one is living: of course this has nothing to do with their intemperance.

Justice Manisty sentences a man to two years for outraging a child aged 10, and regrets the law does not allow him to give more. The same copy of the paper records an exactly similar case in America—only there the man got twenty years. Oh our beautiful and righteous laws! "Who steals my purse, steals trash"—but can get penal servitude for so doing. Who steals the virtue of a child—cannot be punished half so severely. Oh these laws! "Property, property, property, that's what I hear 'un say." Protect our spoons of course as long as they exist, but a national tumult is necessary to get protection for our girls.

*August 6.*—Girl, aged 17, remanded for a petty theft from her place, and that I may find a Home for her if she promises well. Her mother says she is beyond her control, runs away from her places and gets into bad company, and that she has never been right since she

was 10, when a "man" got six months for violating her. Two other girls, aged 13 and 9, were similarly treated by him, being waylaid on their way home from school. He was an accountant.

Another girl of the same age and charged with a similar offence I send to another Home. Her mother is dead, her father in the workhouse, and she has been brought up in a workhouse school, which quite accounts for her dulness and obliquity of moral vision. The huge barrack schools are utter ruin for pauper girls in comparison with any other system. Why is the British ratepayer so slow to note that children in Sutton District School cost £30 a head, while in Cottage Homes, such as those at Marston Green, the cost is but £20 10s., and children boarded out (*e.g.*, by the King's Norton Union) cost but £10 9s. 10d. a head per annum? I suppose they like to go on paying highest for the worst system and results, rather than lowest for the best.

A third girl this morning will go hopefully into a Home. She is only 18, but has led an immoral life for six months, yet is modest and quiet in manner; an orphan likewise.

An ex-prisoner is sent to me by a lady that I may help him. I find in conversation that a man for whom he worked twenty months is kindly disposed towards him and is now manager to a large firm. Yet it had never occurred to him to call on him! Verily, some men's idea of seeking employment is to lie on their back with their mouth open, expecting it to be filled.

"Do you remember me, sir?" Yes, I did. This prisoner, a young clerk who had embezzelled in consequence of his drinking habits, and in spite of a wife and two young children, was a boy under me in a

good school, of good birth, and his uncle an Arch-deacon.

Sent to a refuge M.C., who was discharged this morning from Millbank and came to see me. For nine years have I striven to keep her straight, and to sixteen Homes have I sent her. A perfectly hopeless case of dipsomania I fear, but one must work against hope if one cannot work with it.<sup>1</sup>

*August 7.*—A young man, crippled and with only one hand, a friendless clerk, is helped and taken in by Mr. Wheatley, of the St. Giles's Christian Mission. Trusted on an errand with a cheque he absconds. Eventually he gets work at Westminster, and plays his employer the same trick. When no spark of honesty or of gratitude is discoverable, what can be done?

A. P., mentioned on August 1, died this day. I cut this extract from a local paper:—

DEATH OF A NOTORIOUS WOMAN.—The death has just taken place in Greenwich Union Infirmary of A. P., aged 35, who has been over four hundred times charged before the magistrates at Greenwich Police Court with drunkenness, but never with felony, and has spent the greater part of her life in prison. The cause of her death was consumption. She was always exceedingly well conducted in prison, and shortly before her death sent a letter to Mr. Marsham, the magistrate at Greenwich Police Court, thanking him for kindnesses and acknowledging that her life had been misspent. She had a luxuriant head of hair, and on the morning of her death presented to Dr. Dixon, the assistant medical officer of the infirmary, a lace-bordered sampler, on which are artistically worked with her own hair the hymn commencing "My God, my Father, whilst I stray." Another beautiful specimen of her hair work is in the possession of the Rev. J. W. Horsley, for many years chaplain of

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<sup>1</sup> She is now (December, 1886) doing well in a responsible position in America.

the Clerkenwell House of Detention, and a third is framed in the parlour of Mr. James, Old King Street, Deptford. A. P. had received an excellent education, and a bad word never escaped her when before the magistrate. On one occasion a lady took her to Canada with a view to her reformation, but she could never resist intoxicating drink.

*August 8.*—A country girl, aged 19, immoral and shameless, though only a month in London. Admits that sheer laziness and dislike to work have brought her on the streets.

*August 9.*—Five males and one female brought in yesterday for attempting suicide. But "trade was bad" with us yesterday, for only forty men and six women were admitted.

*August 10.*—An epileptic but enterprising footman out of work went to a suburban clergyman (rather of the columbarian than of the ophidian type) and personated a country curate, adding that he knew me, and had addressed the prisoners here at my request. He officiated several times, reading prayers, preaching, assisting at the Holy Communion, and at last ventured on a marriage, which will make penal servitude possible. I sent the clergyman's letter of inquiry straight to Scotland Yard, and in a few days the impostor does not lie when he says he knows me.

Rigged out for emigration to Newfoundland, where he has friends, an ex-prisoner, who finds all avenues closed to him in England. The clothes ancient and modern which kind friends send me are invaluable on many occasions, only I can't get rid of a tall white hat which one sent. The beautiful retiring nature of Bill Sikes shrinks from so conspicuous a badge of virtue.

*August 11.*—A young lady with eight aliases, and all

addresses given found to be false, is resigned and martyroid because every word of hers is not believed against those of others.

*August 12.*—I wonder if this flower-girl, aged 18, used to sing the popular song, "We are a happy family." She is in for assaulting her mother with a poker, and has twice previously been in for drunkenness: the mother is living apart from her husband, and has spent ten months out of twelve in Millbank doing short terms for drunkenness: a younger brother and sister have been sent to Industrial Schools. Yet the wonder is that any members of some families do right, and not that many do wrong. On what a pinnacle of virtue, inaccessible to a countess, is the daughter of a convict father and gindrinking mother who keeps straight!

Twice this week have I written to the Reformatory and Refuge Union to set their special officer on children that I find to be living in houses of ill-fame, of which the denizens or keepers come here. In one case, at any rate, there seemed a dereliction of duty on the part of the police, who, when they apprehended the mother, should have rescued the children.

Fate is the convenient scapegoat of those whose "can't" is a shuffling substitute for "won't" or "don't like." This man is in for theft from a public-house; he is badly consumptive through drinking long and heavily; his father died of alcoholic phthisis; he has often tried to abstain, but never for more than six weeks; he has been warned by a physician at a hospital of how he is committing suicide; but he "supposes it is Fate."

*August 13.*—A damsel, aged 16, only left Hampstead Reformatory this spring, after being there for five years in consequence of following the footsteps of Noah Clay-

pole on the kinchin lay. A place was found for her, but she must needs run off to a wretched mother in Spital-fields, finds some little day-place for herself and therein steals. From all Reformatories and Industrial Schools come the cry, "If only the lads and lasses have no 'homes' or 'friends' they will probably do well." Felt-ham, for instance, reports that of those who go home 23 per cent. are reconvicted, but only 5 per cent. of those otherwise provided for. And the worse parents are, and the least notice they have taken of their children, the more certainly does a violent access of parental affection come on them when their children are leaving the school or reformatory with a capacity for earning money which can be liquefied by the parent.

I met a costermonger outside hawking crockery and doing fairly well, having about a pound's worth on his barrow. But when he applied to me some months ago he was only hesitating between the workhouse and a relapse into crime. I should be almost wealthy if Boards of Guardians and Convict Commissioners would give me the money I have saved them by a small but prudent expenditure in time.

*August 14.*—One does not lose the sound of Bank Holiday (nor of Derby Day) rapidly in prison. A woman in yesterday for being drunk and violent had been a teetotaller for nine months up to Bank Holiday. A man who cut his throat after Bank Holiday spent in a public-house was only yesterday well enough to be brought up and remanded.

Went last night to get the police in a certain district to take up a scandalous case of a girl, about 13, living with and being taken out nightly by her mistress, a notorious prostitute. Suggested that the case might

have been dealt with any time this last four years under the Industrial Schools Act Amendment Act (which will go down to posterity as Miss Ellice Hopkins' Act, as the Criminal Law Amendment Act will be called Mr. Stead's). But the inspector had never heard of the Act. Quite courteous and willing to take up the case, of which he knew a great deal, but was ignorant of the Act under which scores of children in London alone have been rescued from immoral surroundings. The fact is, if the police know that those at head-quarters desire that an Act should be enforced, they can and will enforce it; if they do not know, or know the contrary, they don't.

*August 15.*—Only twenty-three men and seven females admitted yesterday. Is London getting virtuous? No, but these are Thursday's offenders, and "it doesn't run to it" in the matter of drink by that time in the week.

Sent to Stonehouse Refuge a case of which I have hope, though on paper it sounds bad. Thirty-two, divorced, immoral since, dipsomaniac, has twice attempted suicide and thrice been in an asylum. But if I am right in believing there is good in her yet, Sister Jane Mary there is the person above all others able to develop it.<sup>1</sup>

*August 16.*—Of the last eight persons remanded for attempting suicide, four have been Roman Catholics, a most unusual proportion, for some definite teaching about eschatology is one of the best safeguards against suicide. Last month there were only five out of fifty-

<sup>1</sup> I learn a year later from her solicitor that unfortunately she came into a large fortune, was promptly married, and was drunk on her marriage-day.



four, though with regard to other forms of crime they supply far more than their fair proportion.

*August 17.*—Kalil Lfatal does not sound like an English name. It is not; he is an Arab interpreter, who also speaks Turkish, French, German, Italian, and English. Brought up in an English School in Alexandria, he says he lost his foot in the bombardment, and came to England for an artificial one. Let us hope he is innocent of the charge and will return speedily and in peace to Egypt. He says he is innocent, but when I caught a young friend in Shoreditch with his hand on a bellpull with which he had been annoying a household he declared, "It wasn't me; it was the other boys," and my experience here shows me that the size of London is largely accounted for by the amount of "other boys" that are at large while solitary innocents are run in.

P.S.—At his trial previous convictions were proved in addition to his being found guilty.

Of forty-one males admitted on Saturday one was 12, one was 14, three were 15, one was 16, two were 17, two were 18, one was 19, and two were 20. Prisons will not be obsolete for a year or two.

Looking back to the admissions during May, I see that forty-two males and four females were under 16, and one hundred and seventeen males and twenty-one females were 16 and under 21.

I have always regarded myself as a kind of army chaplain, from the number of soldiers that come here on one charge or another. The departure of the Guard regiments to Egypt largely reduced the military element, but in each of the two last months there have been thirty-seven deserters brought in.

Went to see two ex-prisoners now in Great College

Street Female Refuge. Temper has caused both of them to leave several good Homes. One gravely tells me that the reason for her fury and leaving was that another girl told her that among some new slippers she thought there would not be a pair small enough for her.

*August 18.*—Seventy-nine men and eighteen women admitted yesterday. Three cases of attempted suicide brought in yesterday ; a middle-aged lodging-house keeper, who went to the Thames when drunk ; a middle-aged man who, being afraid of being punished (not for the first time) for assaulting his wife (who was just out from a month for being drunk and disorderly), leaped into the Thames ; a middle-aged man employed at a Government office, with a wife and children dependent on him, who tried to hang himself from no reason except that Friday drinking made Saturday drinking a necessity. But the one thing which Parliament is clear on is that the liquor traffic must not be harassed.

An ex-convict friend of mine, who gets a precarious but honest living by law writing and envelope addressing, suffers from the Long Vacation terribly, and moreover from the fact that the firm who would charge me 4s. a thousand for addressing envelopes only pay him 1s. 9d. A fair (and unfair) profit, when they do not have to supply anything except the use of a directory !

*August 19.*—A fat girl, aged 17, steals a perambulator, sells it, and spends thirteen shillings out of the proceeds in sweets and cakes in three days. The perverted taste for lollipops caused chiefly (because not prevented) by mothers, is a large—very large—cause of juvenile crime, and from a prison point of view there are a dozen times the justification for an Anti-Lollipop League than there is for an Anti-Tobacco one.

Association does not always produce unity of sentiment, else my definition of Happiness would be Beer; of Bliss, more Beer; and of Ecstasy, a little Spirits to top up with.

Hear from a parish priest, to whom I have commended a woman lately here for attempting suicide: "I have visited her to-day, and had a very satisfactory interview with her, and also recommended her to some of our lady workers, so that I hope now she will be better looked after. She has given up her old trade of washing for prostitutes, and has got work at Messrs. —. Again thanking you for your interest in one of our parishioners, I am," &c. Very different action, this, to that which some of my letters of commendation elicit. Some exhaust all their energy in proving that my friend doesn't exactly live in their parish, or at any rate doesn't attend church. Others send a deputy once, and that is all. Letters of commendation must connote work at both ends if any good is to result.

The wife of a prisoner admits he had been on the drink for a week, but "he was once a staunch teetotaler—for a fortnight."

*August 20.*—Send a girl, aged 22, to Miss Maulden, the admirable police-court missionary of the Reformatory and Refuge Union. She (the girl) is a drunkard, chiefly from being nearly always in service in public-houses, but now, after drinking with her mistress's son, she helped herself to her mistress's watch. Her first offence, so the kindly magistrate discharges her on my finding a Home for her.

Of eleven females to-day three are 16, one 18, and one 20.

*August 21.*—Write about three girls who are going out

into service from St. Katharine's Home, Hammersmith, after a year's training. All had been here for first thefts, but, being allowed to go there, have escaped the brand of conviction, and now re-enter life in a far better state than they have known for some time.

A friend of mine lately established a Home for fallen children. None are received if over 12 years of age. The Home is full, and they were obliged to refuse twenty-one applications in a year. *Verbum sapienti, et benevolenti.*

*August 22.*—In view of the Hyde Park demonstration I look into my books and see that, in the nine years of my chaplaincy, 23,732 women and girls have come here as fresh cases. Of these 652 were under 16, and 3,557 were minors. I should have thought I knew something of the causes and phenomena of female vice and crime, but for the fact that most newspaper writers are proving that they alone can draw conclusions or state facts about such matters.

*August 23.*—Send to the Dalston Refuge for girls who have been dishonest only, a strapping damsel, aged 16, who robbed her mother and was in evil company. A very short time hence, and she would have qualified for another sort of Home.

*August 24.*—An old mug-hunter, one, that is to say, of the wretched horde who haunt the street at midnight to rob drunken men, calls me a Job's comforter because I had indicated that her path was more likely to be strewn with oakum than with roses. But Job's comforters were only wrong because he was right. She imagines, like many, that the only function of religion is to afford consolations, and would, I suppose, desire that Nathan should have consoled David or let him alone,

and that St. John Baptist should have condoled with Herod for his want of success in matrimonial matters.

A teetotal plumber, who was remanded on suspicion, is discharged honourably this morning, and comes in to beg for some book or tract as a remembrance of his visit. I send him away happy with a half-pennyworth of my own on Rescue work.

*August 25.*—The two last cases of attempting suicide that have been remanded are both girls, aged 14.

A young widow, respectable and a teetotaler, took a situation in a public-house, and is charged with stealing cigars for her sweetheart. She works until 1 a.m. on Saturday nights, and her only Sunday leisure is from 3.30 p.m. to 8.30 p.m. on one Sunday out of three. Are publicans prepared to proclaim that they never need *employés* with any religious principle? The white slaves of the bar are infinitely worse off as regards hours of labour, unpleasant surroundings, temptation to evil of various kinds, and the impossibility of discharging the duties of their religion, than ever were the negroes whom we freed. And bitter are their complaints, whether they be male or female, of the practical impossibility of getting into respectable employment after once they have been in a public-house as servant. But for the crowded labour market publicans would have either to give £10 a week wages or to be contented with servants who had notoriously no character to lose.

Sent to a Home a woman with two very effective black eyes, who had gained them in a drunken riot. An orphan and friendless, she had passed, like the half perhaps of those on the streets, from domestic service to vagrant slavery. But she has good desires.

"We're none of us our own keepers," says a woman

with the usually associated short temper and long tongue, which possessions had inclined her to suicide when thwarted. An expression as common as amazing, arising, I suppose, from that pagan fatalism which dies so hard and is so convenient an excuse for ill deeds, provided they are not done towards us.

*August 26.*—People probably do not picture babies in prison, but this is the second I have christened this month. It is one of five living out of the twelve children of its mother, who is remanded for pawning her son's waistcoat to redeem something of her husband's she had secretly pawned. Both have at times beaten her severely, and she has scars on her head she ascribes to them. Her husband is a brewer's man, and while she admits her intemperance she declares he drinks "very heavy." What wonder at their having "lost" (what a euphemism) seven children?

A German tailor, an agnostic, finds moral difficulties in the Bible, and wants me to believe he has invented his difficulties for himself, instead of having eagerly swallowed what *The Freethinker* has prepared for him. He cannot see the justice of God. I suggest that one way might be to practise justice himself, instead of robbing a work-mate, and then never thinking of confession or restitution when in good circumstances afterwards.

*August 27.*—A visiting wife describes her husband as a good one, and gives me as a definition, "He doesn't get drunk *every* Saturday."

A lad, aged 17, says, "My lawyer tells me to say that I reserve my defence, which, I suppose, is the thing to say when there is no defence." Sharp lad that!

*August 28.*—A German girl, aged 16, has been married more than a year and had a stillborn child lately.

A woman runs after me in Notting Hill, tidy, healthy, and returning from her laundry-work. She was here in default of bail for assaulting her paramour. Now she has left him and has been a teetotaler for ten months, and looks it.

*August 29.*—A very troublesome and bad girl gets eighteen months to-day, and being sentenced confides to an officer, "I tried to act the balmy" (*i.e.*, sham mad) "in Clerkenwell, but it wouldn't do." Certainly not, mademoiselle; we have too many "cranks" sent here not to know the real from the spurious article. You over-acted, and only acted when there was some purpose in view.

A trim and blooming maid-servant meets me in Hammersmith, all smiles. A year ago she was here for her first theft, but the magistrate was kindly (few people know how kindly the police-magistrates are, and how their work would put to shame that of a score of professional philanthropists), and I sent her to St. Katharine's Home, whence she has got this place.

*August 30.*—I had made arrangements for a girl, aged 14, who was on the brink of ruin, and had attempted to poison herself because scolded for carelessness, to go to a Home. The mother is grateful, and thinks it the only thing for the girl, as she can't control her or hinder her stopping out all night. But when it is discovered that a small weekly payment has to be made to this particular Home the maternal tune is altered, and she will risk anything to save a shilling or two.

*August 31.*—A mug-hunter, aged 24, left Millbank last Tuesday, after doing three months for a midnight theft, and is apprehended on Friday for being drunk and in possession of a stolen watch.

Two girls, aged 16, absconded from a Reformatory, where they had been for a year. Both had been immoral as well as dishonest, and one has been obliged to spend half the year in the hospital.

A man, public-house born and bred, attempts suicide after thirteen hours' drinking. Calls himself a pewterer. Is this his trade, or a humorous description drawn from what is most congenially in his hand? So an able railway pickpocket described himself to me as a finger-smith.

This month there have been twenty-two males and twenty females remanded for attempting suicide. In nine years I have hardly ever found a month in which males preponderated on this charge until this year. But now in January, February, March, April, and August the males have been in excess. It is impossible to suggest a reason.



### III.

#### *THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS CRIMINALS.*

NEITHER the prevention, the repression, nor the cure of crime, can be left simply to the State if the Church is to justify her existence. Criminals from her point of view represent her failures. A Church that must be either missionary or in ruins cannot ignore the existence of the outcast or the lapsed, nor in view of the contamination of the sound sheep can it neglect this obvious source of evil. The time is happily past, though it is hard to conceive that it was not a century ago, when John Howard had to rouse the nation from its then voluntary blindness and pagan apathy, and to show the awful result of having excluded, or not admitted, agencies for moral and religious reform into our prisons, those pesthouses of physical and moral evil which disgraced our land. His statue at the entrance of the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral is in a well-deserved place, and his epitaph is free from the usual exaggeration of such compositions when it says, "This extraordinary man had the fortune to be honoured whilst living in the manner which his virtues deserved : he received the thanks of both Houses of the British and Irish Parliaments for his eminent services

rendered to his country and to mankind. Our national prisons and hospitals, improved upon the suggestions of his wisdom, bear testimony to the solidity of his judgment and to the estimation in which he was held in every part of the civilized world; which he traversed to reduce the sum of human misery. From the throne to the dungeon his name was mentioned with respect, gratitude, and admiration. His modesty alone defeated various efforts that were made during his life to erect this statue which the Public has now consecrated to his memory. He expired at Cherson, in Russian Tartary, on the 20th of January, 1796, a victim to the perilous and benevolent attempt to ascertain the cause of, and find an efficacious remedy for, the plague. He trod an open but unfrequented path to immortality in the ardent and unintermitted exercise of Christian charity. May this tribute to his fame excite an emulation of his truly glorious achievements."

His suggestions were many and minute: few have not been adopted, none were impracticable. No moral and social reformer has left less room for the invention of disciples or successors, and in no department of social, sanitary, and philanthropic effort has progress been more marked or rapid than in that of prison reform. Chaplains in all prisons, assistant-chaplains or scripture readers in all of considerable size, daily services, schools in all prisons for those convicted, ample libraries with the moral and religious element largely provided, decent chapels, and in some cases the authorized visits of volunteer workers, the provision of Bibles, Prayer-books, Hymnals, Tracts, and Prayer-cards of various descriptions, all attest the fact that the State does not ignore the importance of religion when hoping that imprisonment

may be reformatory as well as deterrent. But the question for our consideration seems to me to be rather in what ways the Church by her representatives and members not officially connected with our prisons can fulfil her duty towards criminals. It cannot say the class is uninteresting from paucity of numbers. The Judicial Statistics for 1885 give the number of known thieves, receivers, and suspects at large in England and Wales as 35,227. Then the daily average of those in custody is 27,198, to wit, in local prisons 13,898, in convict prisons 7,973, in reformatories 4,389, criminal lunatics 938, besides military and naval prisoners and debtors. And perhaps a truer estimate of the dimensions of the class is afforded by the facts that the number received into prison in 1885 was 176,936, and that the summary convictions and convictions after trial came to 558,982. Some to whom *argumentum ad crumenam* especially appeals may like to know that the cost of our prisons and similar institutions was £998,218, of criminal and government prosecutions £154,723, and of the police £3,542,437, total £4,695,378, while some estimate of the additional indirect loss to the country may be gathered from the fact that the loss by the felonies reported to the police in London alone is nearly £130,000 in the year.

Plainly, therefore, if the Church fails to act it is not for want of objects on which to act, especially as Professor Leone Levi showed at the meeting of the British Association in 1882 that "the number of indictable offences within the last ten years in England, Wales, and Ireland indicated a slight increase of crime in recent years, both absolutely and relatively to population."

If then it is desirable that the reformatory as well as the punitive and deterrent ideas should enter into our

prison system, not merely for the sake of the offenders but also because recidivism is as expensive as injurious to the State, is the Church content to be represented in this work by a handful of chaplains of whom it must with truthful plaint be said "what are they amongst so many?" Are we content with repeating four words in the Litany when we chance to attend that service? Can we justify the almost universal exclusion of the needs of our imprisoned brethren from any compilation for family or private prayer? Is it right that a brother clergyman should tell me the other day that after thirty years of church-going he had never heard the needs or the existence of prisoners mentioned from the pulpit? Have we not in fact first to remind the Church that she has a duty towards criminals before we discuss what that duty is?

Remember my bonds, says St. Paul, desiring that what made such an impression on him should not be forgotten by the Church. Saul the Imprisoner became Paul the Prisoner, and in Thyatira, in Jerusalem, and twice in Rome, he found bonds and afflictions awaiting him, and his letters are full of imagery drawn from his chains, once to the Ephesians, four times to the Philippians, twice to the Colossians, once to Timothy, twice to Philemon, and once to the Hebrews, basing his exhortation on his bonds. Remember my bonds, cries now to us the class most of all neglected in prayer, our brothers and sisters in prison. Easy it is to talk about the criminal class as being a homogeneous and unalterable entity, but as a matter of fact only about half those in prison belong to the criminal class, even if we were inclined to admit the irreclaimability of any class. Half dead the wounded man may be and no doubt is, but if

the Priest and Levite pass him by he will be three-quarters dead, and if the hardly-concealed sneers at the gullibility and unpractical nature of the enthusiastic chill or drive away the few good Samaritans, the moribund will speedily lapse into utter and infectious death. It was the desire to help not merely my friends in prison but those whose forgetfulness had caused them to omit in their intercessions and works of charity this body so needy even when unconscious of their need, that caused me to establish the Guild of SS. Paul and Silas, an association for intercessory prayer for prisoners and prison work. It numbers now 400 members, prison chaplains and officers, ex-prisoners, the parish priest, the mission woman, the lady of title and the needlewoman, their obligation being to spend some time daily in prayer for prisoners and prison work, to aid in which a manual of collects for all classes and needs has been issued; to interest themselves according to their opportunities in obtaining homes or employment for discharged prisoners; to give alms if possible to societies for the prevention of crime and sin or for the reformation of the fallen and criminals, or to prison and penitentiary chaplains to be used at their discretion for the benefit of those who are or have been under their care, or to the Guild itself to be distributed by the Warden and Council; to attend if possible the Annual Service and Meeting of the Guild; to influence others to become members of the Guild; and (this is the sole monetary obligation) to purchase the Manual of Prayers (price 6d.) The work of such an association will always be more felt than seen, but no one who believes in the power of prayer and the blessing of endeavour, will doubt of its value and success. Many and many a despairing creature has been invigorated,

ennobled, and helped to a chance, if not a life, of self respect, by the prayers, the alms, the clothing, the employment, the friendship, given by members of the Guild. Humbly and quietly we have begun ; may many others apply, extend, and improve our principles and aims.

Having accustomed themselves to prayer for those in prison, men will desire in other ways to help them, for prayer without work is superstition, as work without prayer is presumption. If they live near a local prison they will attach themselves to its Prisoners' Aid Society, which would probably be too thankful for fresh workers, and the infusion of fresh blood into its Committee. It seems to me, by the bye, that such Committees should never be, what they almost universally are, exclusively of one sex. John Howard has his work, his power, his insight into things, and his special experience : and Elizabeth Fry has hers as well, parallel but not identical ; and in the working out of the details of a society's work the need of the special qualifications and powers of either sex must or should be felt. But how many could tell me even the habitat of their nearest Society of this sort ?

The clients of these societies are those who have ceased to be prisoners, and their operations can only with difficulty extend in any way to those who are still in durance vile. I must express my regret that in one instance England seems far behind other countries in the management of prisons ; I allude to the admission and recognition of voluntary, but accredited, agents to the prisons. Governors, chaplains, and other existing internal agents are neither infallible nor perfect, nor have they much leisure for the study of the needs of individual

cases ; and I believe any earnest official worker would welcome heartily such supplements to his work. In Austria volunteer visitors are admitted, if of societies occupied in the care and improvement of prisoners. In France there is a special Order of Sisters (Marie-Joseph) for female prisons, and others are allowed by authority of the Minister of the Interior. In Prussia they are admitted, and in some provinces of Italy. In the Netherlands special associations for this work exist in some cities. In Mexico, Switzerland, and Maryland they are allowed. In England however, the land of Howard and Elizabeth Fry, they are few and far between, and their existence is abnormal and unencouraged. I need not stop to point out the advantages alike to prisoners and to Prisoners' Aid Societies that would accrue if such agency could be at least allowed, if not favoured. Discipline, which has a divinity, but may become a fatuous idol, is the barrier to their entrance. Meanwhile something may be done by enlisting the services of ladies and gentlemen who will undertake to shepherd cases on discharge or to look after the families of those in prison. I had many such external agents whose labours were often of the greatest value. Surely there are many who could say to chaplains or the Prisoners' Aid Societies, "You may send me one, or so many cases, in a year, and I will find the money, the time, and the labour to do my best for them." This would most beneficially introduce the element of personal regard and human sympathy which can hardly be found in the operations of a society. And again, some such workers might have an attraction to, or be trained in the practice of a particular line of work. One lady, thus, in London, took for me the distinct work, and that alone, of looking

after the wives and families of men above the lower classes who have been sent to penal servitude; and in no case did she fail somehow to benefit the children or find employment for the wives. Others again might well be employed in shepherding and visiting (of course in no inquisitorial or detective spirit) cases that had already been aided by the Society.

But the great need is that of employers who would promise to give work to ex-prisoners if, and when, they had a vacancy. I believe that less difficulty obtains in some counties in this respect than in London, where such practical philanthropists are rare. Societies would not be so anxious about their funds, nor chaplains about the perseverance of their pet burglars, if they had lists of employers — builders, wharfingers, laundry-proprietors, and factory owners—to whom men and women might be sent on discharge with some prospect of employment, and a certainty of not receiving a rude and discouraging rebuff. Amiable ladies gush over the desirability of giving a fresh chance to some penitent girl on leaving prison or a Home, but somehow they usually discover exceptional circumstances in their own homes that force them to exercise self-denial by refusing your request. We learn from *Les Misérables* of Victor Hugo the divinity and the recuperative power of forgiveness, and if some object that while the good bishop gained the burglar he lost his candlesticks, I can only answer that I have rarely been without a servant who came from prison and never have lost a farthing or a pin. If others again plead the difficulty that might arise from fellow-servants, I answer that half the people who keep servants in London keep only one.

But far more pecuniary aid is needed from the public,



who are interested somewhat in all things relating to prisons and prisoners, but have somehow and somewhence got an idea that Government, or some other abstraction, supplies all necessary funds. Government buys the good behaviour of prisoners by a system of gratuities amounting in no case, in local prisons, to more than 10s., but this aid does not profess to be based on either the real merits or the needs of prisoners. An habitual criminal with a long sentence knows by experience how to avoid the breach, or detection in the breach, of prison rules, and is sure to get the maximum gratuity, and tolerably sure not to make a good use of it : while a really deserving prisoner, in prison for the first time, and having received a short term because the magistrate or judge saw he was worthy of leniency, cannot earn any gratuity, or at any rate only a few pence, simply because of his merit ; nor is the question of destitution or want of such clothing, tools, or temporary shelter as are necessary for his finding fresh employment, taken at all into consideration. I am not saying, mark you, that Government either could or should act otherwise : I simply state the fact. Nor is the aid given by Government to recognized Prisoners' Aid Societies at all commensurate to their needs, though on a scale that from a Treasury point of view is no doubt considered large. It is sheer ignorance I am convinced, and not apathy or a forgetfulness of the fact that the words "and in prison" are added to the Saviour's words "I was sick and ye came unto Me," that causes the subscription lists of most, if not all, societies to be so meagre.

And it would be in many ways beneficial if in every prison there was a Chaplain's Fund, or where it seemed more advisable, a fund administered by the Governor and

Chaplain conjointly, derived, it may be, chiefly from private benevolence, and yet, if necessary, aided by a grant from the Prisoners' Aid Society or even Government, to meet such cases as may, though worthy, be excluded from aid by the rules of Government or the societies. Sometimes law, but not equity, denies a place of repentance, to those who have committed some offence against prison discipline. In other cases there is no time, from various reasons, to refer the prisoner to societies. Sometimes again it may be most desirable to aid the families of prisoners; and in other ways the need is apparent of a fund which shall not be swathed in iron or red tape. I invariably aided through established and authorized agencies where possible, but yet in nine years I preached, lectured, wrote, or begged into my private fund some £1,300, by the prudent distribution of which I materially helped and relieved not only prisoners and their families but struggling and over-burdened societies for their aid as well.

If funds were sufficient a most useful work could be set on hand by the establishment of laundries, sewing rooms, woodcutting, tailors' and shoemakers' shops, in which decent pay could be given to prisoners on their discharge, as a halfway house to better and more remunerative work. Here characters would be tested and abilities discovered, as well as time gained, during which better places could be found; only the stumbling-block of obviously inadequate pay must be resolutely avoided. Better help a few substantially and really than give to many an occasion of discontent and cavil.

Again, with ampler funds, there could be established refuges for men and women, to which they might go direct from prison; such refuges to give simply supper,

bed, and breakfast, leaving the inmates free to spend the day in searching for employment. Those who know by experience how much depends on the way the first day, or even the first hour, after discharge is spent, will at once recognize the great benefit of such institutions, which exist only to a small extent.

Again, with ampler funds, societies, or individuals, could make use more frequently of the two most efficient forms of aid, migration and emigration. Do not understand that I advocate the shooting on to a brother's land the refuse and even the garbage of our own, but amongst those discharged from our prisons there are those whose inability to get constant employment or to keep from old haunts and companions forms the only reason for their relapse, and this can be effectually removed by emigration. I might dilate upon the remarkable success that has attended this form of effort, especially amongst the obviously hopeful, and the well-nigh hopeless types of prisoners, for women far more than for men. Enquire of Father Nugent of Liverpool, or the Rev. G. P. Merrick of Millbank Prison, upon this point.

And here let me say that as a matter of theory, to which there are but few exceptions in practice, co-operation, whether in religion, politics, or social economy, must always be more fertile than individualism. "The Lord God said it is not good for man to be alone," is a maxim or law of the widest and most varied application. So in the modern developments of charitable effort the needs of every conceivable class or state have the Society that at any rate professes to exist to meet or remove them, and the art and comparative usefulness of the modern worker for the needy or oppressed or fallen, consists largely in the knowledge of the existence and

characteristics of almost innumerable societies and institutions, and the power of diagnosis and classification whereby application can be made to that means which is best adapted to secure the end desired for any particular case. A short home will do for this penitent girl; a longer one must be sought for that. This discharged prisoner is properly the client of the Royal Society or St. Giles's Mission; that one should apply to the society in connection with the local prison from which he has been last discharged. This infant might be taken at the Foundling, for the mother is alive; for the other, one must try an orphanage, as the mother is dead. This man might get temporary shelter at the Field Lane Refuge; that, as being of a better class, at the House of Charity—so one has to remember and think and plan, if time is not to be wasted and the steed found starved by being turned out on boards or pasturage unfitted for his case. And, moreover, it not seldom happens that the diverse aid of two or more societies or agencies has to be invoked. A discharged prisoner, for instance, must have an artificial limb or eye before employment can be sought with much chance of success, and for this purpose the kindly aid of a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society and of the Surgical Aid Society must both be brought to bear in union on the case, one to supply the funds and the other the limb; or one body will give the grant whereby admission into one of the Homes of another may be facilitated or gained; one will rescue if another will shelter and train, and perhaps a third will have a kindly "finger in the pie" by helping to provide outfit or the means of migration or emigration when a period of probation has been successfully passed through.

The case I am about to describe will serve two

purposes—to demonstrate the need of the strong coming to the aid of the weak, and also to show how much more quickly and efficiently the advantage can be gained by co-operative charity. Incidentally, also, it will draw attention to the work of three excellent societies, one of ancient, and two of very recent origin, all well-nigh indispensable in view of some of the troubles of Modern Babylon. In June, 1885, a young wife and mother, aged twenty-four, was remanded for my attention and report as having tried to drown herself in the Thames. As I have to do with about four hundred cases of attempted suicide in the year, this was no new experience to me; but I do not recall a case in which exactly the same reason for the act was given. She said, and it proved to be true, that the sole cause was the excessive brutality to her two babes, aged only thirteen months and two-and-a-half years, of a man whom she had unfortunately married after his having been discharged from the navy and imprisoned for assaulting an officer. Married after a very short acquaintance—she religious, he a professed infidel—it was hardly likely that such a union should turn out well. He was sober, but apparently quite unable or unwilling to refrain from excessive brutality to these mites whenever they put his lordship out, and the children were covered with bruises caused by his cane, which was found split and clotted with blood. I, therefore, on her re-examination, caused the officer of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (7, Harpur Street, Bloomsbury), to investigate the case, attend the court, and warn the brute of the consequences of a renewal of his conduct. She was discharged, and went home. Almost directly, however, he renewed his outrageous cruelty to the children and to her, and on June 20th he

was sentenced to three months' hard labour. But he was bread-winner, after all, as well as bruiser, and what was the wife to do? The society took the children into their refuge, and kept them all the time, and I, by an application to the Sheriff's Fund Society, which happily aids the families of those in prison, as well as prisoners on discharge, got for her 5s. a week during her husband's enforced absence. When he came out the wife and children returned, and to show that punishment and vindictiveness should not go together, the Cruelty Society (to shorten its title) got him work, which, being at some distance from his home, caused him only to be with his family on Sunday. Little time, however, passed when the Southwark police (who had taken a real interest in the case) found "the elder child covered with bruises, and marks of violence on the baby's left arm," such as produced a sensation in the court when the Cruelty Society again appeared to prosecute him. "Mr. Bridge (to quote the newspaper report) told him that his conduct was brutal in the extreme, and he should not be doing his duty unless he severely punished him. He therefore sentenced him to six months' hard labour, and asked what was to be done with the wife and children." What, indeed? especially as she was expecting another babe in three months. After consulting with the magistrate and the Cruelty Society, the children were again received into the shelter pending arrangements that might be made for the advantage of the wife, and, if possible, the removal of the children beyond the reach of the brute when he should be uncaged. A fresh application to the ever-generous Sheriff's Fund Society procured her a promise of 5s. a week for thirteen weeks, and another to the Church of England Central

Society for Providing Homes for Waifs and Strays (32, Charing Cross) resulted in a promise of their being taken at once into one of their homes for little boys. But as it was hoped the wife would be able to get a separation from the "man," and be as able to support the coming babe as she surely would be unable to support three children, it was no temporary burden that the society would undertake, and its funds are not what they should be. Again the Sheriff's Fund stepped in, and granted a sum of £10 for each child, on consideration of the mother being entirely, if necessary, relieved of their charge. Not one of these societies could have efficiently dealt with the case in all its aspects and needs; by co-operation all that was possible and desirable was done; and by experience bringing all their forces to bear on the case at the right time the good was done without delay.

This illustrates and may further the extension of that co-operative charity of which I spoke.

Finally, I would add an exhortation to my brethren who are parish priests. See that you promptly, lovingly, and perseveringly shepherd any cases commended to your notice on their discharge by prison chaplains. I suppose a thousand by no means represents the letters I wrote in a year commending some poor fellow or girl to the notice, sympathy, and aid of those in whose parishes or neighbourhood they may be going forth to dwell; and in many cases with the greatest benefit to the temporal and spiritual interests of those thus commended. Remember the vital importance of the first day after leaving prison with new resolutions but more than the old difficulties. Remember their stomachs have been somewhat pinched, and that sometimes "the best way of all to the heart is down the throat." Don't want them at once

to relate the history of their shame. Encourage them to visit you and not wait to be visited. As soon as you prudently can, associate them with stronger brethren and sisters in some society or class, and from the first give them some God-parent, shepherd, or guardian angel in human form. Keep their secret in manner as well as in speech. Give them encouragement; others have given them all necessary rebuke. Bear with their weakness: let no falls or relapses scandalize you, nor progress elicit enervating gush. And withal grind indignantly under foot any rising feeling that you are condescending in the work: no such ennobling and Christlike work comes to you every day. Never mind just now the ninety and nine, case-hardened in their respectability and perhaps compounding for sin by denouncing crime; here you will find the object of the Master's peculiar care, ay, even the very members of Christ sore from the world's buffeting, foul with its mire, quivering with its scorn, but as the holy women tended and washed and anointed that Body when discharged from the prison of the Cross, so will you with reverence, love, and gratitude to the Giver of the task, prepare the despised and rejected man for a resurrection and a life of glory.

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### *PRISON ALMS.*

No one could, I imagine, have been chaplain of a metropolitan prison to which were committed, on remand or awaiting trial, in ten years about a hundred thousand



men, women, and children, of all conditions and degrees of guilt or innocence, without having constantly brought to his notice cases in which the timely and prudent expenditure of a little money would be productive of excellent results in the avoidance of unnecessary injury or the prevention of an imminent relapse into crime. Both in prison and out of it, of course, one has to remember that almsgiving without an adequate knowledge of the case of the recipient is productive of more harm than good. Here, as well as outside, imposition and hypocrisy will be the weapons and the bread-winners of idleness; but most will hesitate to "try it on" with an experienced prison official possessing many means of testing the truth of a tale, though they may have successfully, and for long, practised on the credulity of others. Moreover, many were the cases of the lad or the lass and even the adult, who had been remanded not for actual punishment but in order that it might be seen what the chaplain thought of the case, and whether he could afford or procure any assistance to enable imminent evil to be avoided, or a fresh start to be made. "If you really mean well," a magistrate would often say, or, "If you are brought to this state not chiefly by your own fault, I will send you to the House of Detention for a week, where the chaplain will at my request investigate your case and see what can be done for you." Frequently three or four such "magistrate's cases" would be received in a day, which would prove to the initiated that objects of sympathy are found in the police-court far more frequently than most people suppose, and that magistrates are philanthropical workers to an extent that is rarely suspected. One of the first things, therefore, was to have a fairly exhaustive knowledge of all the societies,

institutions, and individuals that either existed for the benefit of discharged prisoners or would not exclude them from their sympathy and help. The characteristics and peculiarities of each must be known, as hardly two cases in a month would be alike, and therefore the Home to which A might be sent would not be the best for B, and the society to which C might be recommended would certainly not take up the case of D. Then again, a prison in which all are unconvicted, and therefore allowed to be visited daily, instead of once in three months, by their friends, will naturally bring to light very many cases of terrible suffering inflicted on the innocent families of offenders. Doubtless from the fear of removing the restraint from evil-doing which arises from the thought of what the family will have to suffer in the absence of the bread-winner, very few societies include the families of those in prison amongst those they regard as lawfully their clients. Here, then, was a field for charity in which labourers were few, though their efforts were more required and less likely to be inoperative or misdirected than in the other. When, then, a knowledge had been gained of the classes needing help, and the agencies for helping them, the need became apparent of a special fund from which those could be helped whose cases did not admit of the necessary delay involved in making application to some committee; or the amount necessary was almost too small for a formal appeal to a society; or the case for some reason might be excluded by rules from the only available source of external aid. Therefore I made it known that I was ready to receive and dispense, to the best of my judgment, the alms of those who could not personally carry out the command implied in the words, "I was in prison and ye came unto Me." Beyond

an annual letter inserted in the *Church Times* by the kind permission of the editor, I did no begging, and yet was never in need. Something I earned by charging a small fee for temperance addresses or sermons, and occasionally lectured on prisons to bring grist into the mill. But the cause itself was so good that, chiefly from strangers, I received in the ten years of my chaplaincy over thirteen hundred pounds for the benefit of my friends and their friends. Once came in a donation of £100 from a stranger, once one of £50 from one to whom I had been useful in spiritual matters ; but generally the sums were small. Looking down the pages on the debtor side I see some entries that may be of interest. Here is an anonymous donation of thirty shillings from three of the audience at the play entitled *The Lights o' London*. I ascertained afterwards that in this drama the hero, unjustly sent to penal servitude, escapes and is sheltered and befriended by some in humble position in a way that probably suggested the exercise of more charity towards prisoners. I communicated this incident to Mr. Wilson Barrett, the manager of the theatre and chief actor in the play, thanking him withal for never staining his boards with any immoral or inane production, and lower down on the page I find a guinea was enclosed in a kindly letter from him. On the same page is an entry of thirteen shillings sent by some penitents and matrons in the Magdalen Home at Streatham, part of which came out of sixpences that had been given to the girls at Christmas for the purchase of fruit and cake. *Haud ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco*, comes to my mind. Some of these had known what was the joy of finding an unexpected friend in friendlessness, and gave this practical proof of having meditated on "Do as you would be done

by." Here is an item, "Moiety of offertory at York Minster after the Assize Sermon;" here five shillings, the result of Lenten self-denials; here come in loving companionship a donation from a well-known Unitarian, an offertory from a "Ritualistic" church, and a collection from a Wesleyan Band of Hope. I hope I need only apologise for mentioning that of course I took no notice of creed in affording help. Here appear entries of profits made by the wood-chopping and paper-collecting industries in which I embarked to test some ex-prisoners, and to provide employment for others who were not capable of more valid or skilled labour (but please do not ask me what are the entries in this connection on the other side of the book!). This half-crown comes as savings from giving up tobacco in Lent; and that, in a paper inscribed simply, "For the love of God." This anonymously from "A sinner," and that "From a converted youth." This five shillings is from an ex-prisoner, and that eight shillings from a godly working woman whose son left me for five years' penal servitude. Nor must I omit to notice a kind of entry that is not very frequent, "Repaid by So and so." So varied is prison life that one gets astonished at nothing, but if there be an exception to this rule it is when loans are repaid, especially when the borrower has volunteered information about the weekly sum he proposes to remit. Yet here is the record of the faithful repayment of £2, which was certainly well laid out and has saved the State a large expenditure. There was a woman of much vigour in body and will who was constantly in prison for intemperance or crimes of violence, seemingly incurable, and known in another prison as its terror. She could work if she choose like five, and if she did not choose, five could not have made

her do a stroke. Anything I said was good-temperedly received, and ignored; but at last I discovered that a reformation, if possible, was to be effected through her love for a daughter, who had happily been put into a Home for children out of the way of such a parent, and was now of an age to leave it, though hardly fit, physically, for service or work. What a shame it was, I represented, that she should be ashamed to admit she had a mother! As an old poacher is said sometimes to make a good gamekeeper, might not the very knowledge of evil be used to guard the daughter from it? This struck her and stung her. She took the pledge, obtained laundry-work near me, received her daughter, worked till she became forewoman of the laundry, and then (it was in 1881), borrowing this sum of me to add to her savings, set up in business for herself. Now she employs ten women and has more work almost than she can do, has never broken her pledge, but has been a useful temperance worker in a quiet way, and latterly has been confirmed and become a communicant. Yet few who knew her could for a long time believe in her transformation. There was no probability that she would cease to cost the State some £30 a year for as long as she lived, and being so strong she would not so quickly as others drink herself to death. Therefore my £2 has already saved the State £180 on her account, to put things on the lowest platform.

And here is another repayment by one who had been discarded by her husband and friends through her intemperance, which, added to a naturally weak and desponding character, had brought her several times under my care for attempting to drown herself. At last I persuaded a magistrate to give her three months in

default of bail (cruel only to be kind), that there might be some chance of getting the drink out of her (which the absurd maximum punishment of a month for being drunk and disorderly can never do), and obtaining her some shelter at the end of the time. I was soon enabled to get her a chance of regaining a character and self-respect, and her livelihood in service. A strict hand on her has been necessary, but in good situations she has been ever since, and anything I ever lent in an emergency has been faithfully repaid.

A third entry of the same kind refers to a girl, friendless in England, who had six months' hard labour for robbing her mistress of a watch. The day she was discharged I took her into my own service, as I should never feel comfortable without one servant with a history, nor be able to urge others to give a chance to an ex-prisoner if I did not practise what I preached. She has been "a handful" in some ways, but she is still in service near me, and there has never been a word against her honesty or diligence. Other items of this sort occur, but not with the frequency that I should desire, for I used to explain to borrowers that I had not much desire for repayment, nor an inordinate expectation of it, yet if they did repay they would feel all the more comfortable, and enable me to give to some other lame dog the help over the stile that they themselves had sought and found.

Most of the entries that are full of human interest, and bring before me a panorama of faces of all kinds, from the baby to the burglar, from the accomplished humbug to the heroic wife of the convict, from the costermonger to the clergyman or doctor that made my acquaintance on the wrong side of the cell door, are of course on the

other side of the book. They tell how the alms entrusted to me have been expended in such ways as the whole or partial expense of emigration, stock for costers and hawkers, paying for ships discharges or licenses, fares to distant homes or employment, clothes to enable situations to be entered on, redeeming or buying tools, lodging and sustenance while work is being sought, arrears of rent, outfitting and shipping lads and men, purchase of such portable property as a shoe-black box, an organ, a baked potato-can, a sewing machine, a cornet, or a mangle, advertising for employment, helping deserted mothers to pay for their babies, or deserted wives to keep the home together, grants or donations to Homes or Societies by whom my friends might be helped or taken in, boots and herrings, laces and oranges, gingerbeer and sawdust, all mingle in admired disorder in these lines.

The mention of sawdust reminds me to instruct others how little is sometimes necessary for a fresh start, and yet how impossible it is for some to obtain that little. An old man once begged some aid on discharge, else nothing but the workhouse or a relapse into crime presented itself. I gave him all he wanted, and he went away declaring I had made a man of him by the gift of one shilling to purchase sawdust, his trade being to refill the spittoons in public-houses. As he never applied again, let us hope he is prospering; and, after all, the amount far exceeded the traditional two-pence halfpenny which has been said to have been the foundation of so many fortunes. And sometimes no pecuniary expenditure was necessary, for many of the kind gifts I received and dispensed were gifts in kind, clothing to wit and boots both ancient and modern. Employment might have been found, but the employer would not seldom have to

say that the applicant must really have more decent clothes. Therefore I had my clothes-store on both the male and female side of the prison. One day the good matron asked my aid for a decent but occasionally bibulous woman who was leaving us with a prospect of work. Her raiment, however, was limited to four articles, of which two were her boots and the third a bonnet. Sometimes quaint articles were sent, and a tall white hat was so unsuitable for the retiring nature of the British burglar that, on the closing of the prison, I left it behind, to become, I suppose, the perquisite of the Home Secretary. A black dress suit again seemed at first a white elephant, but the day after its receipt a man from a county prison was commended to me by his chaplain. He had been dishonest as a butler, but seemed thoroughly repentant, and now had heard of a place with a friend at a restaurant. But the appropriate costume was necessary and apparently unattainable. My suit was the very thing and gained him the required start. Afterwards I lunched one day at a coffee tavern, of which he was manager, and when last I heard of him he was factotum to a lady, and had his wife and son with him in her house. Even the worst clothes that were sent came in handily to a ticket-of-leave man, who gained his living by repairing old garments and selling them to the poor. And in other walks of life very little, comparatively, was needed as initial help. To start a costermonger or hawker from ten shillings to a pound was usually sufficient, as the amount of herrings, or fruit, or vegetables that could be carried in a basket or are needed to make a respectable show on a barrow (which could be hired for a few pence a day) is not, after all, very large. One who knew how and where to buy and sell could increase



his capital most days with a humble nest-egg, while a deaf ear should always be turned to those who think street-selling needs no experience. To apprentice lads to the fishing-smack business at Grimsby, or Hull, or Yarmouth, is often an excellent thing; and even when a sea-rig has to be procured in lieu of the rags of the vagrant or juvenile offender, the cost is not great. Looking down my accounts, I find that the first seven cases of this sort I notice required only twenty-five, thirty-four, thirty-nine, thirty-nine, thirty-four, thirty-one, and thirty shillings respectively, the difference arising from whether they required more or less clothes, and whether they had to be lodged and fed for a few days before they could be sent off. Mr. Langmaid, the agent of the Metropolitan Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, 32, Chancery Lane, is an old blue-jacket and invaluable in this work. Others, being older, or inclined for deeper water, would be shipped on some coaster for a first voyage, or get a berth for a long trip if they had been afloat before, and here again the expense would be little; *teste* such entries as George B., shipped at £1 a month, for £2 15s. 9d.; Joseph G., to Calcutta, as under-steward, £1 19s. 6d.; John McW., kit and shipped, £2 12s. 5d.; Ernest I. (a lazy, lying rascal he turned out), shipped, £1 17s. 3d. Only, be it remembered, trouble and cost will be nearly doubled if not done through experienced persons. I wonder if a rigorist in morals would shake his head over the record of such a transaction as giving a sovereign to a ship's steward to induce him to take a young man as under-steward, whereby he got a trip to New Zealand at £3 a month wages? If so, I shall be the recipient of several wags from the venerable pow, and can only plead that in many avocations what is called

palm oil is the only way in which foremen can be induced to regard favourably the claims or merits of a man. Emigration, with carefully-selected cases, is apparently more costly, but yet in the long run the most paying of ways to help a man or woman. Let a girl behave well in prison and then have training and a further test in a Home, and she will very rarely indeed disappoint you or fail to do well abroad, where English servants are eagerly sought after by those who are tired of the Irish or German "help." Of course they commonly marry very soon, but always much more to their advantage than would be possible in England. In the case of men, none should be sent abroad, in fairness either to themselves or the country to which they go, unless they have a good trade in their hands or friends who have signified to you their readiness to receive them. Old hands try hard to be sent abroad, but only that they may escape the salutary and desirable police supervision. Loafers who are "ready to do anything" (and able to do nothing) should be choked off promptly and decisively. *Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*—(emigration changes scene but not disposition) some will infallibly quote. True, but a man's environment influences his disposition, and to leave behind old companions and haunts is the only way in which many an one who is as much weak as wilful can have a chance of reformation, and he will not certainly seek out fresh tempters because he is unable to resist the old ones. I have known some of those I have been enabled to emigrate to return foolishly, but I have not heard of one being in prison abroad (save a lad whom I myself did not send and would not have sent). The history of Australia shows that if a fair proportion of those who were chiefly

selected for badness have done well and helped to rear an edifice grand in itself and with a grand future; on the opposite principle of selection little harm or even failure need be anticipated.

If this be so, little need we think of the passage money in comparison with the benefit to the person sent, to the country which he would not benefit by remaining in it, and to the country he may benefit by his labouring in the hopefulness that comes of a fresh start, under conditions altered for the better. And what is the cost? I observe J. D., an agricultural labourer, was sent to Canada for £3; S. P., to Toronto (I expect sustenance and clothing swelled this amount) £10 6s. 10d.; C. B., a lad recommended to me by a magistrate, to Canada, £2 4s. 9d.; another strong lad to Canada, £5 3s. 9d.; a man to Australia, where he had friends, £10 10s. 4d.; a laundry woman, who had done well in the Streatham Refuge, to America, £3; two others from the same place and for the same destination, £4 and £5; a man to Boston, where he got constant work and good wages directly as a carpenter, £9 2s. 11d.; W. R., to America, at a cost (to give the items instead of lump sums, as above) of £1 18s. 6d., for sustenance and outfit; £4 10s. for passage; expenses and pocket-money, £1 15s.; total £8 3s. 6d. True he returned in 1886, but this was in 1882, and he has kept himself, and appears in every way bettered now, while had he remained in England unbefriended it is not £8 or £80 either that he would have cost us.

With all one's care and experience, of course many names bring to mind utter failures to help a man who would not help himself, some cases in which one had been taken in, others of which nothing more has been heard; but yet many things cause one to be thankful,

not merely for the effort, but for the success, and should encourage others (this is my object in writing) to do more than ever they have done to enable societies, or individuals in whom they may have confidence, to do more for discharged prisoners and the families of those in prison. Myself discharged from prison, to my great regret, I yet keep touch with various forms of this work, and shall be always ready to distribute alms, or to advise as to where alms can best be sent, with a certainty of their being not merely thankfully received, but also prudently expended.

If the patience of the reader is not exhausted, let me make a few more notes on what catches my eye as I skim the pages of my account-book. A depressing and a thankless task and office people often think a prison chaplain's must be. Not so, I have always answered; for though we get little thanks from superiors or from those we help for anything we do, we do not work for the wage of thanks from men, and one has not the time to be depressed, nor the desire to moan over failures, in view of the romantic and engrossing work, and the extreme value of the percentage of successes. Who is there who has worked honestly in this field who cannot say as he looks back, "that one case of reformation and transformation is worth all the labour of these years"? Here, on the first page, is the name of one who was separated and then divorced from his wife for a series of almost murderous assaults. His was the strongest case of the drink-crave that I have ever known in a male, but now for years he has kept the pledge I gave, writes yearly to me on the anniversary of that event, has his wife and children again with him, and is in constant work and a responsible position. Few were the shillings he needed

from me at discharge, but had I not been able to give them in all probability I should have lost touch of him, and all that now is might not have been.

The name occurs not seldom, but it is a pleasure and an honour to help her. She was an East-end box-making girl, when, by special request, I married her to a typical London criminal, whom I thought I had persuaded and helped to drop the skeleton key for the barrow; but, alas! not many years passed before old companions led to drink, and drink to gambling, and gambling to house-breaking, and the young wife saw her husband go off for seven years, leaving her to support two children. She cannot read, but is one of the aristocracy of my world. Out of the ten or twelve shillings she earns by constant toil at box-making she pays 3s. 6d. for her unfurnished room, and keeps herself and her boys. Never murmuring, never begging, it is, I say, a pleasure to ask if she does not want, and an honour to help her, and when the alms of any of my friends have gone to her they may be comfortable in the thought that their money has done unmixed good. This week she hears from him, and when I read, "It grieves me to think that through my folly and selfishness those innocent dears should have their childhood blighted, and no one but yourself to be their bread-winner," I can only hope that when he is free he will be less unworthy of such a wife. Later on comes an item of railway fare for her to see her husband in a remote convict prison, which suggests a real hardship. Well-conducted convicts are allowed periodical visits from friends, and were such glimpses of home and the outside world not allowed (they are cut down as it is to a minimum I consider injurious) the percentage of those who become cranky or rebellious

would be larger than it is. But how is a wife, slaving herself to death to keep her home together for some years, to afford the money, or even the time, for a trip from London to Dartmoor or Portland? Commonly, the more virtuous she is the less is she able to afford it.

This half-crown was the fare to Cambridge, where I ascertained there was work awaiting a man if he could come at once; but he had neither time to walk nor money to ride. That two shillings to provide certain articles of toilet required for a female prisoner on discharge to bring with her into the hospital to which she was going.

These entries refer to a man lately from ten years' penal servitude, whose case I remember, as, while he was doing some work I made for him at my own house, he picked up in the road and brought me a roll of cheques of the value of £80. It turned out that they had gone through a process that made them not negotiable, but neither he nor I knew this until we returned them to the bank, and many who had not been convicted might have had a try at passing them.

These two friendless lads were commended to me by a magistrate, but neither of us read them aright. First I tried to get them into the navy, and spent, I see, seven shillings in getting the necessary certificates of their births from Leeds and Dublin; then putting them under the care of my agent, one absconded, after I had clothed him for sea at an expense of thirty-one shillings, and the elder was shipped for forty-five shillings, but left the ship at Gravesend. Never mind, we did our best, and angels can do no more.

This ticket-of-leave man told me he had a promise of work, but could not take it up for want of tools. To be

prudent I went to the factory he named, and learned from the foreman that his story was correct, therefore ten shillings' worth of tools started him rejoicingly. Your alms, madam, you apologized for as being small, but they sufficed to send a girl to a Home in the country, who would have been restless, and much more inclined to give up the struggle for self-mastery in a London Home, where she would know how to leave and find old companions in a few minutes. This five and eightpence swelled the coffers of a railway company, for Dr. — could not get to the *locum tenens* work he had found unless I got his diplomas, which had been deposited in a cloak-room when he had an introduction to enforced sobriety.

Not a few men were enabled at a small cost to go to Tilbury, where many of my friends helped to make the new dock, as many more had previously had a hand in rearing the new Law Courts.

Yes, that venture in what is a cross between a street-organ and a musical-box had not the success I hoped. The man was one-armed, having deliberately maimed himself while doing ten years to escape labour; but he might be rendered harmless by grinding out melody, so I expended seven guineas, and the first day he went out he earned ten shillings. In about a week, however, I found it had been pawned, and he had disappeared. This was a little too strong, so I gave information to the police, and might have had him punished but for finding him in custody for being too interested in the scenery of an area by moonlight. He did his time, and when I next saw him he was in a work-house, where he was learning hair-dressing, and saving up the pence he got as tips. Would I forgive and

forget, and help him to start a small shop? "Certainly, when you can bring me a certificate of proficiency and good conduct from the workhouse authorities, and have saved two pounds." In time he fulfilled both these conditions, and went house-hunting when allowed out from the workhouse for an hour or two. But alas! when expecting a visit from him to claim my aid, I found one morning in the paper an account of his apprehension for trying to get into a house otherwise than after the fashion of intending tenants. The melodeon I redeemed, and occasionally lent it out, but now it reposes in one of my Homes for waifs and strays, and grinds out "Mary had a little lamb" when I visit the little maidens there.

This £2 redeemed the sewing machine, held for rent, belonging to the wife of a cabman, who, being partially paralyzed, had run out of two clubs, and could not get employment, and through depression had tried to poison himself when a counterpane was the only thing left to pawn.

This expenditure was certainly profitable, for by helping to pay for the sojourn in a Home for Inebriates of an hotel-keeper's widow who had been under me for attempted suicide after *delirium tremens*, those who provided me with the means have helped to restore her to society, and now she is in a good situation, and one of the very few women I have known to be cured of intemperance.

Ten shillings to replace tools stolen from the wood-shop I had set up for the employment of discharged prisoners. This theft occurred shortly after it was opened, and I chuckled to observe how indignant were my men, one of whom (now dead) had been an accomplished burglar, and another a member of the "Forty Thieves"



gang from Seven Dials. They discovered the culprit, and I had him punished, but on his leaving prison, to show there was no ill-feeling on either side, I offered and he accepted a sum to start him in the costermongering again.

This four shillings was to reimburse a Scripture reader in the East End, who had been swindled by a rogue, who pretended to have been advised by me to put himself under the care of some religious man, and had victimized with this tale many who had not known that discharged prisoners should never be helped without inquiry and a reference to the chaplain or governor of the prison in which they last were.

This £5 was a deposit to enable a ticket-of-leave man recommended to me from Scotland Yard to take up a situation as a traveller in tobacco at 25s. a week and commission. It was repaid by instalments in a month, I observe.

What do tumblers cost the ordinary purchaser? I see that for a woman who was accustomed to street-selling I bought twenty-five dozen for 19s.

These small sums procured a few luxuries for a woman who was dying in a workhouse infirmary after having been over three hundred times in prison for drunkenness, and asked for my visits as being her only friend. So often had she attempted suicide when drunk that one was thankful she was dying sober, and moreover penitent, as far as I could judge.

Directly I saw this medical man when he called on me after a short imprisonment, I said, "Which is it, alcohol or laudanum?" He looked surprised at a layman having this power of diagnosis, but said, "Well, both." I do not know that I did much good by providing him with sustenance for a while, but do not think I did harm.

This was an ambulance-class fee for one of the warders, who thereby became more useful in case of any accident to a prisoner.

Four pounds was well bestowed in providing outfits for two young servants, who, having been remanded for their first act of dishonesty, were allowed by the magistrate to go to a Home I found for them, wherein they remained a year with great advantage to themselves industrially, morally, and spiritually.

This 5s. I had promised to an ex-prisoner, for whom I had got a situation, when he could show me a sovereign in the Post Office Savings Bank.

So, running down the pages of my account book, as one might turn over the leaves of a photographic album, memories of all kinds arise, and any feeling of disappointment is checked by the thankfulness to the many friends, known and unknown, who enabled me to attempt something, and to Him who inspired and blessed both the gift and the giving. Let none imagine that this huge class of their brethren stands in no need of their prayers, their alms, and their efforts. Let none help injudiciously, but neither let the individuals, the Societies, or the Homes that have the special knowledge and opportunity to give timely and prudent help, be without the support that enables them to benefit the State by diminishing recidivism, and to promote the salvation of man and the glory of God by what is alike rescue and preventive work.

\* \* \* \* \*

*CHRISTMAS IN PRISON.*

How I got there does not matter—at least to you ; but there I was, and this is how I felt, and what I heard and thought. Havn't I said where I was? Well, if you must have it, I was in prison. On Christmas Eve, of all days in the world, the blow fell. I had to present myself at the police court, and almost as quickly as I can say it sufficient evidence was brought against me to justify a remand, and remanded I was. Down from the dock in a stupid bewilderment I was led, into a tiny cell, one of many, however, I found by the various noises on either side. One I could hear howling out defiantly curses against the police ; another, with a feeble attempt at bravado, singing some inane ditty ; another hammering at the door, apparently in a state of incipient *delirium tremens*, while on my immediate right I could hear the low but sustained sobs of a young girl, and on the left the restless pacing to and fro of a well-dressed and evidently educated man, whose case had been tried just before mine. No window, little light, no quiet, for being below the varied sounds in the corridor I could hear the sea-like sound of many feet in the streets hurrying to get their Christmas dinners and their Christmas presents.

But soon a change came, and in such a state any change is welcome. Up the steps we were summoned, and one by one from the door we made a hurried and shamefaced ascension of the steps of the hearse-like prison van. Jolt, jolt, we rolled along the streets, while my fellow-travellers tried vigorously to make their voices heard to one another from the coffin-like cupboards, upright ship-berths, in which we were separately enclosed. At last a stop, a delay, and forward movement, and then

with a clang the gates of a prison had enclosed us. I need not linger on the taking of our descriptions by warders, or the taking of baths by us; time passed rapidly in the novelty of each successive event, and soon I found myself leaving a long iron and slate gallery, and ushered into one of the innumerable (as it seemed) cells of the prison. A few short directions, briefly but not unkindly given by the warder, and I was locked in and left alone. Alone, ah, no; thoughts and memories thronged upon me as only had seemed possible in a dream before; the past seized on me with a backward-dragging clutch, and caused almost an oblivion of my present state and place. Food was soon thrust in through the wicket of my door, and I noticed with my first smile that the bread was wholemeal bread such as I had always eaten when I could, and the gruel apparently the same as had been the favourite supper of my wife. But it might have been chalk and tar for all I could taste; the mind was too strained for the senses to exert their usual power. The bed—a hammock, with plain but sufficient bedding—hung from hooks on each side of my cell. Out went the gas, but did the darkness come? No, for the sound of Christmas bells from a neighbouring Church and the *Adeste Fidele* of a distant band of waits summoned up the visions, distinct to a pain, of other far different Christmas Eves spent with parents, friends, and wife. Punishment regards the good of others besides the offender, I knew, and its deterrent force must be felt by duration; else those few hours of Christmas Eve contained all the punishment and the worst that I could bear. Kindly nature brought kindly sleep, and with a prayer for others (of myself I dared not then think) I slept. Soon, however, I awoke with a start, and found

that the distant howling which had filled a dream, or perhaps caused it, proceeded from a not far distant spot. Unearthly, monotonous, inarticulate, what could be those sounds? The returning power of reasoning reminded me of where I was, and soon I guessed that the disturbance proceeded from some wretched fellow-prisoner suffering from *delirium tremens*, and confined apparently in a cell beneath mine. Sleep seemed impossible, and a distant imitation of the sound seemed to come from afar, though in the stillness of the midnight sounds were painfully distinct. Not from the prison did it come, but from the revellers turned out at closing time from the public houses with which, as I found afterwards, the immediate neighbourhood of the prison was thickly studded. With idiotic shouts and shrieks were they ante-dating their Christmas revels, and parodying in bestial fashion the vigil of the shepherds and the angels' song of peace. At length kindly weariness made me oblivious even of these, and I slept till early morning, when the bustle in the corridors and the visit of a warder told me it was time to rise. Waking brought with it a fresh awakening to my position, Christmas morning in prison! Never a thought had I given on other Christmas mornings to the thousands of my brethren in the loneliness and mental pain of their prison cells; now I wondered if all were still as careless and callous as I had been, or whether a kindly thought and prayer went forth from happy homes and joyous services in church towards "all prisoners and captives." Breakfast—namely, a tin of gruel, and a six ounce loaf of wholemeal bread—I managed to consume, and wondered how the day was to be spent. A Bible and prayer-book were on a shelf in my cell, and these, in a shame-faced way, I began to

read, and so the time passed on, until the door was thrown open, and a warder said, "Exercise ; take your hat and put your number on your arm." Down the iron steps I followed my next door neighbour, and found that exercise meant pacing round and round a large yard under the vigilant eyes of warders. What a motley crew we were ! Here the city Arab of tender years, and there the well-dressed and hitherto respectable man. Here the soldier in uniform, and there the navvy with an extensive black eye. A lame man leading a blind and ragged beggar slowly along the centre ring, Lascar sailors, a postman, and a school-boy in a trencher cap. However, all seemed freshened by the sharp morning air, and things seemed brighter, or at least less dark, until we were all safely locked in our cells, and then came down a dense London fog, that rendered it impossible to read, while even the window was hardly to be distinguished. This gave the finishing touch to misery, and was hardly bearable until again the door was opened, and "Chapel ; take your Bible and prayer-book and put your number on your arm," gave promise of a welcome change. Here I found myself one of a congregation of some 300 men ranged in ascending tiers in a large room, to which some ecclesiastical appearance had been imparted by a little colour, and even by some Christmas decorations and texts on a gallery up to which we gazed. From another gallery above and behind us came the sound of the shuffling of feet, and when the service began I found this must be tenanted by a strong body of female prisoners, out of sight of all save the Chaplain in the opposite gallery. As the chimes of a neighbouring church sounded the half-hour the Chaplain appeared in his surplice, stole, and hood, and the once familiar, long

neglected, morning prayer began. What such a service might be to mind and soul, and what it had not been, was strongly borne into my mind. The Christmas hymn, led by the strong voice of the Chaplain, but unaccompanied by any instrument, was then sung lustily by this strange congregation, many of whom seemed to welcome the opportunity of using their lungs unreprieved. But oh! the memories that twined round the familiar words and tune! I could not sing: I dared not think. Then we settled down for a sermon, and a thought came into my mind, that of all sermons, at any time, at any place, this was the one I should find it hardest to compose. Will he mock us with the pictures of the pure and social joys of such a time? Will he draw the obvious contrast between the first Christmas Day and this? My doubts and wondering were hardly allayed when he gave out as his text the words, "And they began to be merry."

I will try to give as far as I can an outline of his brief sermon, which I need scarcely say was deeply impressed upon my memory.

#### THE CHAPLAIN'S SERMON.

You do not want, said the Chaplain, many words from me. The hymns we have just sung, "While shepherds watched their flocks by night," and "Hark! the herald angels sing," and that we shall sing presently, "O come, all ye faithful," are better sermons than any I can preach, good in themselves, and bringing memories with them that will do you good if only you will let them. But yet I should like you to think about the words in the text. The first is "merry." How often that word is uttered to-day! How many are saying now all over the world, "A merry Christmas to you!" And how many people

will be in many ways, some of them God's ways, and some of them the devil's ways, "merry" to-day. The same word is used for very different states of mind, for it is little understood. Now, it is a good thing to be merry; there is nothing the good God, the loving Father, more desires than that His children should be merry—in the right way and in the right sense of the word; and there is no greater cheat of the devil than to get people, especially at this time, to think that merriment can be caused by or found in what is unworthy of men. Guzzling, gorging, beastly drunkenness, and worse things still, are being done to-day in the name of being merry. Why, one of the officers told me just now that he never saw so much drunkenness in the streets as he did last night. In one public house near here there were ten people serving the bar as fast as they could, and piles of bottles as well to be taken away. If he had desired to enter that house—I hope he did not—it would have been almost impossible owing to the crowd of people pressing in.

How sad this is, surely, to any one who calls himself a Christian, that this day and this season should be so marked by sins of the body! This is a holy and a happy day because, on this day eighteen hundred and eighty years ago the glorious God, the Prince of Peace, was born of the blessed Virgin Mary, having taken a body in order that, amongst other reasons, our bodies should be saved as well as our souls, and made temples of the Holy Ghost, in which drunkenness, gluttony, and impurity should be as much out of place and horrid as they would be if done in temples or churches made of stone and sacred to God. I can imagine a converted heathen coming from Africa or India to-day, and rejoicing because he saw on every wall and in nearly every window, and



falling from every lip, the word Christ. See how much they love Him, he might say. And then some one would laugh at his ignorance and say, "No, we are not thinking or speaking of Christ—only of Christmas, which is a very different thing!" And so it is, God forgive us all; but it ought not so to be. Merry, you say; this is no merry Christmas to me, alone, depressed, anxious, with this fog filling all the prison, and making it impossible to read a word to pass away the time. Well, my friends, I don't say it is easy, but I don't say it is impossible. Why were the people mentioned in the text merry? The words are taken, you know, from that grand old story of the son who was first prodigal and then repentant, and it was because the poor fellow had made up his mind at last to shake off the devil's chain, to cleanse himself from the filth of the pig-sty, to seek a more satisfying food than empty husks, and to return to his father, and because, above all, he had not only thought of doing this, but had done it, that there was joy in the presence of the angels of God over the sinner that repented, and that the father, the friends, and he, "began to be merry." He came back in fear and trembling, with a confession and no excuse upon his lips, not swaggering in with his hands in his pockets, saying, "Well, father, here I am back again," as if nothing had happened, and no pardon need be sought. He came half expecting the dogs would bark at him, and the door be slammed in the face of such a miserable tramp, half prepared to go away empty, saying, "What else do I deserve? I have made my bed thus, and I must lie upon it." But no, the father saw him afar off—and these were eyes of mercy; he ran to meet him—and these were feet of mercy; he flung his arms round the poor wretch's neck

—and these were arms of mercy ; he kissed him—and these were lips of mercy ; he spoke—and these were words of mercy ; and so may it be to-day for you. Oh, what joy, all the greater for being unexpected. Do you wonder they began to be merry ? They *began* to be merry, and when did they cease to be so ? Never, my friends ! that kind of joy will last. The merriment of the drunkard, the glutton, the foolish, ends when the headache, the fine, the punishment, the disease or failing health, the loss of respect or of self-respect, begins. Only two joys can last, and those are they that spring from a good conscience or from a true repentance. Might we not gain these ? Might they not begin to-day, and last for ever ? Might not some of us hereafter look back to this dark and lonely Christmas Day, and say, “ Well, after all, it was the best Christmas I have ever known,” for as we have just read, “ the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light : they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined ; ” and when most we felt alone then came there to us One whose name was and is Emmanuel—God with us. Do you not think the shepherds might have grumbled a little, and felt sad all alone in the dark fields, when every house in Bethlehem was full of friends and joy ; and yet, when a few years hence, they looked back to the events of the first Christmas night, they would have said : “ Dark ? why, ‘ the glory of the Lord shone round about ’ us. Lonely ? why the heavens opened and we saw ‘ a multitude of the heavenly host. ’ Sad ? why, the angel brought to us ‘ good tidings of great joy. ’ ” Ah, my friends, outside is much merriment that will only end in shame and punishment, but here there may be (God grant there may be !) the truer merriment found by the

returning son and the shepherds of Bethlehem. Let us not think of what we have lost or what we miss, but rather of what we may find and gain. I could make you all cry, and cry with you too, as easily as possible, with pictures of what you miss, but would there be a teaspoonful of good in a bucket of such tears? Rather, I would point you to the source of all true and lasting joy—Emmanuel, God with us—and bid you as honestly and earnestly as I bid the same to my wife and friends,

“A MERRY CHRISTMAS.”

Short as the sermon was, I felt it afforded material for long thought, and to judge by the various sounds from my companions—here a grunt of assent, and there a stifled sob—it fell not entirely short of its mark, and it was with a more real, if less vigorous, utterance that we sang the concluding hymn. Back to our cells; dinner—no Christmas fare, however, but simply potatoes and suet pudding—and then again were we summoned to chapel, with more expectancy, if less wonder, than in the morning. Here we soon saw that we might expect a service of a different type, for in the gallery was a small choir of four men, three of whom were clergymen, and four boys. The Chaplain ascended into his place, pulpit and desk in one, and after a few words of preface, in which he hoped that what he was about to do might bring a little brightness into what must necessarily be for his “dear friends” not so cheery a day as he could wish for them, he announced that a selection of carols and hymns would be sung in lieu of the usual service. Then for some 45 minutes did we have what many a congregation outside might have considered a treat. Melodious and trained voices the choir possessed (indeed I recognized some

months afterwards two of them officiating as minor Canons in St. Paul's Cathedral), and sweetly did they render the carols and hymns, in some of which the prisoners sang alternate verses with a grand, if rough, power. Certainly nothing could so easily and so effectually have taken us for a while and for good out of our painful surroundings. At last the service ended with a few cheery words from the Chaplain, who reminded us that if we had had better Christmas days in the past, many, if not most of us, would admit that we had also known those which would leave worse effects behind, and that if we felt obliged to these friends for their efforts to bring some variety and brightness into the monotony and dulness of our day, we might effectually and best show our gratitude by promising them that, by God's help, we would none of us meet them here next Christmas. These words evoked many a grin and many a deep murmur of assent, and let us hope that the resolutions then formed in many a heart brought forth fruit hereafter. Never, at any rate, shall I forget that Christmas spent in prison, and if only I can preserve the freshness of the feelings and the earnestness of the prayers which then revived and strengthened the dormant powers within me, I may indeed have reason to say hereafter, "It is good for me that I have been in trouble, for now have I kept Thy commandments." One thing I know, that each Christmas in the future shall find me thinking of the poor people amongst whom my lot is cast, and that some money shall be spared each year from Christmas expenses and sent to the Chaplain of the nearest prison, to be expended by him for the benefit of discharged prisoners or the families of those in prison.

#### IV.

#### *A PRISON CALENDAR.*

I HAVE compiled from many sources this Prison Calendar, which may be not merely interesting but also useful as exciting thought and preventing error in writing. It will show that public opinion and Government action in England has progressed, and also that the beginning of Prison Reform was inconceivably late, and its first steps slow. How our grandparents could have known nothing of, or cared nothing for, what was going on in the prisons of their time passes comprehension. Sir Moses Montefiore for example, might have told us in 1885 that he remembered seeing a woman burned in the Old Bailey for passing bad money (in 1789), and in the next year he might have attended the funeral of John Howard. He was nearly ten when the Lord George Gordon Riots took place, whereof Dickens has written in "Barnaby Rudge," and their instigator died in Newgate of gaol fever, which is now extinct. And when he had nearly attained his majority the penalty of death without benefit of clergy was attached to over 160 offences. He was nearly thirty before soldiers and sailors were not liable to be hung if travelling without passes. He was over forty when the Police Force was instituted, and he has seen the beginning

and the end of our system of transportation to what have in his lifetime become the Australian Colonies. He could remember there being eighteen Prisons in London, and five hundred and eighteen in the United Kingdom.

### DATES.

- 1394 Margaret Odiam leaves £10 rent charge for mass and faggots for Bury Gaol.
- 1556 Griffith Amerideth leaves £524 to provide shrouds for prisoners executed at Kingswell, and to repair wall of burying ground.
- 1577 Black Assize at Oxford—all in court died within 40 hours from gaol fever, including the Judge and the Sheriff.
- 1596 Banishment from Kingdom provided in Act as punishment for rogues and vagrants.
- 1614 Chesterfield Bridewell built.
- 1618 Geffray Mynshull's Prison Essays.
- 1619 Transportation to America began.
- 1670 Wood St. Compter built.
- 1678 Transportation Act.
- 1691 Moses Pitt's Cry of the Oppressed.
- 1699 S. P. C. K. Committee on Prisons.
- 1701 John Norris leaves £300 for books and beef for Norwich Gaol.
- 1704 Pope Clement XI. erects prison in Rome for education and reformation of youthful criminals.
- 1705 Robert Dowe leaves £1 6s. 8d. rent charge for tolling a bell before executions at Newgate.
- 1708 Thame Bridewell built.
- 1716 Lawford's Gate Bridewell, Bristol.

- 1717 Transportation first regularly introduced by Act of Parliament.
- 1720 Dartford Bridewell built.
- 1728 General Oglethorpe's Committee of House of Commons to investigate state of prisons.
- 1730 At Taunton Lent Assize some hundreds, including the Judge and Sheriff, died of gaol fever.
- 1735 William Hay's Parliamentary Committee on prisons.
- 1748 Sarah Peters, Newgate visitor, died.
- 1750 Numbers died of gaol fever in London, including two judges and the Lord Mayor.
- 1751 Prison Taps abolished.  
63 persons hanged in London.
- 1756 154 out of 170 persons died in the Black Hole at Calcutta.  
John Howard a prisoner of war in France.
- 1764 Ludlow Town Gaol built.
- 1766 Chelmsford Bridewell built.
- 1770 First Stone of Newgate laid.  
Ninety-one condemned to death at the Old Bailey: forty-nine executed,
- 1772 Society for Relief of poor debtors.  
St. George's Fields, Surrey, Bridewell, built.  
Prisoners refusing to plead treated as guilty and pressing abolished.  
Rev. Denne's pamphlet on separate imprisonment.
- 1773 Act allowing Magistrates to appoint Chaplains to Prisons.
- 1774 Act for abolishing Gaolers' Fees.  
Manchester Bridewell rebuilt.
- 1775 Transportation to America ceased.  
Separation at night and associated labour by day adopted at Ghent.

- New Prison, Clerkenwell, built.  
 Newport, Essex, Bridewell, built.  
 Kingston-on-Thames Bridewell.  
 Philadelphia Society for alleviating miseries in prisons.
- 1776 Horsham Prison built under Howard's advice.  
 System of the Hulks began.  
 4,084 prisoners in England and Wales, of whom  
 2,437 were debtors.  
 Convicts first put on board the *Justitia*.
- 1777 Howard's "State of the Prisons" published.
- 1778 Act for establishment of Penitentiary Houses.
- 1779 Second edition of Howard's "State of the Prisons."  
 244 Prisons in England and Wales enumerated  
 by Howard besides some unvisited. Pop.  
 4,379.
- 1780 Lord Gordon riots, Newgate attacked. Five other  
 City Prisons broken into.
- 1781 Petworth Prison built.
- 1783 Last execution at Tyburn.  
 58 sentenced to death at the Old Bailey in Sept.  
 24 " " " " Dec.  
 First execution at Newgate (Dec. 3).
- 1784 Third edition of Howard's "State of the Prisons."
- 1785 242 Death sentences in England, of whom 103  
 suffered.  
 Population of Newgate nearly 600.  
 600 prisoners in Newgate awaiting transportation.
- 1787 Transportation to Botany Bay begun, the 1st expedition taking 184 males and 100 females.  
 Pennsylvania Society for alleviating the miseries of Public Prisons.



- Elizabeth Dean leaves £156 to buy Firewood for Reading Gaol.
- 1788 Last woman burned for husband murder.  
Old Gaol, Winchester, built.  
Penal Colony established at Sydney.  
Philanthropic Society's School founded.  
Convict settlement formed at Port Jackson.
- 1789 Last woman burned, after being hung at the Old Bailey, for uttering.  
Bastille taken.  
Howard's Account of Lazarettos in Europe.  
Old Bridewell, Winchester, built.
- 1790 John Howard died.  
Preston New Prison occupied.  
Of 939 convicts sent to Australia 261 died on board and 50 more shortly after landing.  
Philadelphia begins solitary system.
- 1791 Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon published.  
Gloucester Penitentiary House established.  
Act enjoining Justices to visit their prisons three times in each quarter.
- 1793 Lord George Gordon died in Newgate of Gaol fever.  
272 hung in last seven years in Middlesex.
- 1794 Coldbath Fields Prison built.
- 1798 Thames Marine Police established.
- 1799 El Buen Pastor Prisoners' Aid Society founded in Madrid.
- 1800 Death without benefit of Clergy for over 160 offences.
- 1801 275 Debtors and 375 felons in Newgate.
- 1802 Hampshire D. P. A. S. founded.  
720 Prisoners in Newgate.  
An Inspector of Hulks appointed.

- 1803 An R. C. Priest, under sentence of transportation,  
set free at Sydney to act as R. C. Chaplain.  
Van Dieman's Land a Penal Settlement.
- 1805 Dalston Refuge founded.  
68 Persons hanged out of 350 sentenced to death.
- 1806 Eighteen Prisons in London.
- 1807 Sheriff's Fund Society founded.
- 1809 The ducking-stool used at Leominster.
- 1810 Romilly abolished hanging for stealing calico from  
bleaching grounds.  
Devizes Prison finished.  
To this date 9,000 convicts had been sent to New  
South Wales ; population of the colony 10,500,  
of whom 7,000 were convicts.
- 1812 Nield's " State of the Prisons " published.  
Romilly abolished hanging soldiers and sailors for  
being without passes.
- 1813 Millbank begun.  
Act abolishing gaolers fees repeated.  
340 Debtors in Newgate.  
Mrs. Fry first visited Newgate.
- 1814 Appointment of Chaplains made compulsory.  
Jersey Prison erected.
- 1815 The Pillory abolished except for forgery.  
Inspector was succeeded by a Superintendent of  
Hulks.  
Society for improvement of Prison Discipline.
- 1816 Millbank occupied.  
Mrs. Fry began work in Newgate.  
3,000 inmates under 20 years of age in London  
Prisons.
- Clerkenwell Prison enlarged and altered.
- 1817 Treadmill first set up at Brixton.

- Three men executed at Derby for high treason.  
Society for the improvement of Prison Discipline formed.
- 1818 518 Prisons in the United Kingdom, to which above 100,000 prisoners were committed in the year.
- Mr. Buxton's essay on Prison Discipline.
- 1819 Russian Imperial Society for guardianship of Prisons.  
Ladies' Prison Association in Liverpool.  
Royal Prison Society in France.
- 1820 Cato Street Conspirators committed to Tower, last commitment.  
Boy aged 15 hung at Newgate.  
1,236 sentenced to death in England and Wales, 107 hung, only 10 of whom for murder.
- 1821 Millbank finished.  
John Hall leaves £127 for a Christmas Dinner for Northampton Gaol.  
Eight lads under 20 years of age hung at Newgate.  
2,854 convicts in six Hulks.  
7,683 sentenced to death in last seven years in England and Wales—693 hung.
- 1822 Royal Female Philanthropic Society founded.
- 1823 Sir R. Peel's Gaol Act for Classification of Prisoners, &c.  
Mill's article on Prison Discipline in Encyclopedia Britannica.  
Netherland Society for Moral Reformation of Prisoners.  
Proportion of female prisoners to males, 1 to 10.
- 1824 Boston (U.S.A.) Prison Discipline Society.  
Surrey D.P.A.S. founded.

- Vagrant Act.  
Treadmill in Old Gate House Prison, St. Albans.  
Treadmill labour varied from 7,500 feet (Lewes) to 14,200 (Boston).
- 1825 First American Reformatory opened (Randall's Island, New York).  
3,662 convicts in ten Hulks.
- 1826 Norfolk Island made a Penal Settlement.
- 1827 Connecticut underground prison abolished after 54 years.  
Prisoners refusing to plead, treated as having pleaded Not Guilty.  
Benefit of Clergy abolished.  
1,526 sentenced to death—70 executed.
- 1828 Mons. Lucas's "Penitentiary System of Europe and America," published.
- 1829 Last execution for Forgery.  
Metropolitan Police established.  
The bodies of all murderers given for anatomical purposes.
- 1830 Last execution for Piracy on the Thames.  
Debtors in prison on Jan. 1, King's Bench 671, Fleet 242, Whitecross Street 457, Marshalsea 113, Horsemonger Lane 64.
- 1831 Last execution in Newgate for Sheep-stealing.  
Preston Prison attacked by 2,000 rioters.  
52 persons hanged out of 1,601 sentenced to death.  
Criminals to population, Ireland 1 to 490; England 1 to 740; Scotland 1 to 1,130; Wales 1 to 2,320.
- 1832 Last execution in Newgate for stealing Letters.  
Capital Punishment abolished for Cattle-stealing and Larceny from dwelling-houses.

- The bodies of persons executed to be buried within the precincts of the prison.
- 1833 Capital Punishment for Housebreaking abolished.  
A child nine years old sentenced to be hanged for poking a stick through a window and stealing paint, value 2½d. ; reprieved.
- 1834 Capital Punishment for Returning from Transportation abolished.  
Home Office Criminal Returns begin.  
Silent System introduced at Coldbath Fields.  
Chaplain first appointed at St. Albans Gaol.  
4,920 prisoners sent out of country this year.  
Number of convicts in Van Dieman's Land was about 15,000.
- 1835 Warwickshire D.P.A.S. founded.  
Capital Punishment abolished for Sacrilege and Letter stealing.  
Borough Police established.  
Cellular System tried in Ghent Prison.  
Count Montesino introduces System and teaching prisoners a trade at Valencia.  
Act passed for Reform in Prisons.
- 1836 Devon and Exeter Female Orphanage founded.  
Tothill Fields New Prison built.  
4,273 transported to Australia.  
Mons. Lucas's "Theory of Imprisonment" published.
- 1837 Southampton Ladies' Prison Visiting Association founded.  
Rev. D. Nihill appointed Governor-Chaplain of Millbank.  
The Pillory altogether abolished.  
Parkhurst opened as Reformatory for Boys.

- 256 prisons in England and Wales.  
4,068 transported to Australia.  
Chaplain appointed to Norfolk Island Convicts  
after ten years of its establishment.
- 1838 Committee of House of Commons reports against  
transportation system.  
Roman Catholic Chaplain appointed to Norfolk  
Island.  
Assignment System abolished in Australia.  
Total number of convicts sent to Australia during  
the continuance of the System, 134,308.  
158,000 lashes inflicted in one year in N. S. Wales  
and V. D. Land.
- 1839 County Police established.  
Act passed giving the Secretary of State power  
over the designs of new prisons or the  
alteration of old ones.
- 1840 Pentonville Model Prison begun, to contain 520  
cells and cost £90,000.  
Prince Oscar's (of Sweden) Punishments and  
Penitentiary Establishments.  
Up to this date no diet but bread and water in St.  
Albans Gaol.  
Last occasion (Courvoisier) on which the public  
were admitted to the chapel at Newgate to  
hear "the condemned sermon."
- 1841 First Industrial School (Aberdeen) opened.
- 1842 Bath Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society founded.  
Pentonville occupied. Separate System intro-  
duced, and separate Stall System in chapel.  
Probation System introduced in Australia.  
124,822 in English and Welsh prisons in the year.
- 1843 Sarah Martin, the prison visitor, died.

- 1844 Reading Gaol opened.
- 1845 Horsham Prison closed.  
Act passed appointing a Surveyor-General of Prisons.  
First International Prison Reform Congress held at Frankfort-on-Main.
- 1846 Foundation Stone of Clerkenwell House of Detention.  
Preston Prison (first of any local prison) adopts the separate system.  
Second International Prison Reform Congress, Brussels.
- 1847 West Riding Industrial Home for D. Female P. Committee of Parliament on Prisons and Punishments.  
Juvenile Offenders' Act.  
Office abolished of Superintendent of Hulks.
- 1848 Durham Refuge founded.  
Baden Cellular Prison built.  
296 transported to Bermuda.
- 1849 Birmingham and Winchester Prisons opened.  
Elizabeth Fry Refuge founded.  
First Stone laid of Holloway Prison.  
7,000 young persons at Parkhurst.
- 1850 Worcestershire D.P.A.S. founded.  
Cellular Prison erected at Amsterdam.  
Dartmoor Convict Prison opened.  
Investigation into the state of Birmingham Borough Gaol.  
Board of Directors of Convict Prisons constituted.
- 1851 Mark system first introduced into Birmingham Prison by Captain Maconochie.  
Wandsworth Prison opened.

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- Reformatory Conference at Birmingham.
- 1852 Portsmouth Convict Prison opened.  
Holloway Prison opened.  
2,541 transported to Australia.
- 1853 Prison Congress, Paris.  
600 transported to Australia.  
Penal Servitude Act i., establishing ticket-of-leave system.  
New Lewes Prison opened.  
14,507 juveniles under 17 imprisoned.
- 1854 First Reformatory Act.  
First Industrial Schools Act for Scotland.
- 1855 Criminal Justice Act.
- 1856 Birmingham Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society founded.  
Gloucester Prisoners' Charity Fund founded.  
Committee of House of Commons reports in favour of transportation.  
Fulham Refuge opened for the reception of convicts.
- 1857 Hull D.P.A.S. founded.  
Royal D.P.A.S. founded.  
Judicial Statistics first published.  
Penal Servitude Act ii.  
Industrial Schools Act for England.  
Convict Hulk *Defence* destroyed by fire at Woolwich.  
Rev. Sidney Turner appointed Inspector of Reformatories.  
Third International Prison Reform Congress, Frankfort.
- 1858 Rev. John Clay, Chaplain of Preston Gaol, died.
- 1859 Transportation to Bermuda ceased.



- 1860 East Glamorganshire D.P.A.S. founded.  
Woking opened as invalid convict prison.
- 1862 Kent D.P.A.S. founded.  
Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society Act.  
193 Prisons in England and Wales.  
Coroner's inquest to be held on every prisoner who died in prison.
- 1863 Essex D. Female P.A.S. founded.  
Parkhurst made Female Convict Prison.  
Prison Congress, Brussels.  
Royal Commission on working of Penal Servitude Acts.  
Act passed permitting flogging for robbery with violence.
- 1864 Carlisle Memorial Refuge at Winchester founded.  
Mrs. Meredith's D. Female P.A.S. founded.  
Leeds and Metropolitan D.P.A.S. founded.  
West Riding Industrial Home for Discharged Male Prisoners.  
Penal Servitude Act iii.  
Mark System introduced into Convict Prisons.  
146 Prisons in England and Wales.  
Parkhurst closed for juvenile prisoners.
- 1865 North Staffordshire and South Staffordshire and Usk D.P.A.S. founded.  
Capital Punishment Commission.  
Prisons Act.
- 1866 Glasgow and Manchester D.P.A.S. founded.  
Howard Association instituted.  
Last public execution at Lewes.  
Industrial Schools Acts of 1855-6 repealed and new Act passed.
- 1867 Transportation to Australia ceased after 451 sent this year.

- Fenian destruction of wall of House of Detention.  
 130 Prisons in England and Wales.  
 St. Albans Prison opened in place of old Gaol.
- 1868 Last public Execution, May 26th.  
 First private Execution, in Newgate, Sept. 16th.
- 1869 East Sussex D.P.A.S. founded.  
 Salisbury Prison closed.  
 Habitual Criminals Act.  
 Parkhurst made Male Convict Prison.  
 Woking Female Convict Prison opened.  
 Maryland Prison Aid Association.  
 Several military prisons closed.
- 1870 Liverpool and Wilts and East Sussex D.P.A.S.  
 founded.  
 Habitual Criminals Act, No. 2.  
 Cincinnati Prison Congress.  
 National Prisons Association of New York.
- 1871 Essex D. Male P.A.S. founded.  
 Prevention of Crimes Act.  
 Archbishop Darboy shot in La Grande Roquette.  
 Fulham Refuge abolished and Female Convict  
 Prison opened.
- 1872 Bristol, Cornwall and Dundee D.P.A.S. founded.  
 Westminster Memorial Refuge ( Streatham )  
 founded.  
 London International Penitentiary Congress.
- 1874 Bath and Portsmouth and Southampton D.P.A.S.  
 founded.  
 Borstal Convict Prison opened.  
 Prison Authorities impowered to borrow money to  
 meet capital expenditure.
- 1875 Devon and Suffolk D.P.A.S. founded.  
 Dublin Prison Mission founded.

- Transportation to Gibraltar ceased.
- 1876 Belfast Prison Gate Mission founded.  
Cheshire and Edinburgh D.P.A.S. founded.
- 1877 Northampton D.P.A.S. founded.  
Prisons Act. All Local Prisons under Government.  
113 Prisons in England and Wales.
- 1878 Horsemonger Lane Gaol closed and 36 other Prisons, leaving 69.  
Separate Stalls in Chapel and use of Masks abolished.  
Treadwheel used in 22 Prisons.  
Officers' Libraries established.  
St. Albans Prison made the County Prison.  
Stockholm International Prison Congress.  
Prisons transferred to Government, April 2nd.
- 1879 Payments to Roman Catholic Prison Ministers authorized.
- 1880 Treadmill introduced Birmingham Prison.  
67 Prisons in England and Wales (only 8 being old and bad).  
Roman Catholic Prison Ministers in 38 Prisons.  
New Roman Catholic Chapels in Maidstone and Hull Prisons.  
Re-establishment of Military Prisons.
- 1881 Guild of SS. Paul and Silas founded.  
Hertfordshire D.P.A.S. founded.  
Northampton and Southwell Prisons closed.
- 1882 Prison Charities Act.  
Newgate closed as an ordinary Prison.
- 1883 Tothill Fields Prison (Westminster) closed.  
New Prison Chapels at Hereford, Derby and Strangeways.

- Four Pentagons of Millbank used for female convicted prisoners in lieu of Tothill Fields.
- 1884 430 Prisoners killed in quelling riot in Mandalay Prison.
- Spalding, Chester, and Taunton Prisons closed.
- 1885 First Execution in Birmingham Prison.
- 62 Prisons in England and Wales.
- Population of Prisons 15,484, lowest figure known.
- Coldbath Fields and Huntingdon Prisons closed.
- 1886 Clerkenwell Prison closed.

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## OUR LOCAL PRISONS.

THE statistics relating to our prisons are interesting to so many persons from so many points of view—to the economist, the philanthropist, the educationalist, and the statesman—that it may be useful and interesting to put in compact compass the most recent returns embodied in the Judicial Statistics for 1885, inasmuch as the study of that Blue Book, to say nothing of the comparative study of the issues for several years, and the almost necessity of some special knowledge to guide one through the masses of figures, is almost as formidable and distracting as would be a comparative analysis of “Bradshaw’s Railway Guide.”

Her Majesty’s local prisons (formerly known as the county, borough, and liberty prisons), as distinct from the convict prisons—which are exclusively reserved for those under sentence of penal servitude—were in the year

ending March 31, 1886, 61 in number; but Newgate may be regarded rather as an appanage of Holloway Prison than as a separate establishment. Before the prisons came under Government there were 113, many being plainly superfluous and expensive out of all proportion to their usefulness and capacity.

The total commitments to these prisons during the year were 172,000, of which 128,294 were males and 43,706 females, the commitments for the two previous years being respectively 185,191 and 186,530. Of these, 9,826 were only remanded, and then discharged on re-examination; 11,546 were committed for trial; 1,324 came in after being convicted, but not having been in custody before their trial; 138,015 came in as summarily convicted by magistrates; 2,198 for want of sureties when bound over to keep the peace, &c.; 7,737 were debtors or committed by civil process; and 1,354 were military and naval offenders. The proportion of females to males is not that one to seven of which we used to hear, not even the one to three of more recent years, and this increase is chiefly due to the modern prevalence and increase of female intemperance. This proportion is still less when we take the numbers of those whose commitment to prison is not for the first time, for herein we find 50,042 males and 27,026 females; while of those who were recognized as having been previously committed from eight to ten times, 2,768 are men and 1,884 women: and the worse class of those committed above ten times contains no less than 8,981 women to 5,074 men—a phenomenon certainly due to the special aptitude of female drunkards for being no sooner out of the prison than into the public house. And a comparison of five years makes the increase of the evil on the part of women

more evident. Thus, those committed above ten times were in

1879 .....	3,691	males,	5,800	females.
1880 .....	3,648	„	6,773	„
1881 .....	4,148	„	7,496	„
1882 .....	4,391	„	8,946	„
1883 .....	4,734	„	9,316	„

It is remarkable that Liverpool accounts for no less than 3,967 out of the 14,055 who have thus repeatedly offended, and that of this large figure 2,942 are women. The nearest approach to these totals are afforded by Manchester (two prisons) 2,030, and Wakefield 662, so that the pre-eminence of Liverpool for hopeless intemperance and crime is most marked. London, which it is hardly fair to reckon as one city, has in its four prisons (Holloway, Newgate, Pentonville, Millbank) 2,513 in this class, of whom 232 are women.

Those who were recognized as “old lags,” or having been previously sent to penal servitude, amounted to 1,423, of whom 1,141 were men, thus proving the comparative failure of even that severe punishment as a deterrent. The four London prisons received no less than 402 of these recidivists.

With regard to age (excluding debtors and military and naval prisoners), 250 were under 12 years, 21 being females; 4,563 (547 females) were under 16; 24,956 (5,143 females) were under 21; 50,541 (14,423 females) under 30; 39,508 (11,857 females) under 40; 23,742 (7,065 females) under 50; 10,621 (2,721 females) under 60; 8,512 (1,573 females) 60 years or over; while the age of 156 was not ascertained, from idiocy, ignorance of English, or other causes. The decade from 20 to 30 years is thus the worst for crime, as always appears. It is

saddening to notice that into one prison alone—Millbank—there came, in the year, 470 women of 60 years and upwards.

The place of birth being noticed, it is found that 134,750 claim to be English, 4,821 were Welsh, 3,219 were Scotch, and 16,763 were Irish; while 794 were born in the Colonies and the East Indies, and 2,029 in foreign countries, the birth-place of 533 not being ascertained. The distribution of the Irish element is marked by these figures:—Liverpool, 4,324; Manchester, 3,241; and London, 2,062.

Too much reliance must not be placed on the next table of statistics, which gives the degree of instruction possessed or claimed by prisoners, as this is chiefly and rapidly taken from their own lips on entrance, and is not the result of tests. It is well, however, for educationalists to note that 47,038 can neither read nor write, and 109,691 are described as reading only, or reading and writing imperfectly; 5,296 claiming to read and write well, while 414 only are described as of superior education, which obviously needs some explanation, when those who are grouped under the heading of "professional employments" amount to 413, and contain in their ranks not a few belonging to the three learned professions. London alone sends 6,645 perfectly illiterate persons into her prisons.

The table giving the class of occupations is probably too delusive to need much notice, as an evil trade is usually concealed and an honest one assumed without right. Thus only 6,090 are described as prostitutes, many claiming to be reckoned in the columns headed needlewomen, or of "no occupation;" while burglars and professional thieves very commonly are painters for

the nonce, as that is a trade that may be pursued with advantage in prison.

The number in prison at the beginning of the year was 16,221, and during the year 172,000 more were received into prison. Of these 1,164 were removed to convict prisons, 1,226 juvenile offenders were sent on to industrial schools and reformatories, and 178 to criminal or other lunatic asylums; 361 were released on pardon or commutation of sentence, 7 escaped, 12 committed suicide, 122 died a natural death, and 21 were executed. There remained then in prison at the end of the year 14,379, a decrease of nearly two thousand. The cases of suicide were all males but one, and in 49 out of the 61 prisons no such lamentable event occurred. The mortality from natural causes is of course remarkably low, a fact all the more noticeable from the notoriously unhealthy conditions of the life of the vast majority of those who enter prison. In 17 prisons no death occurred in the year. The total number of cases of sickness was 172,459, of which 167,879 are simply of slight indisposition, including the mildest remedies administered for the most transient troubles, 4,580 were infirmary cases, and 272 were of insanity. Restraints in the shape of irons or handcuffs were necessary in only 159 cases, and in only 22 prisons, and in the majority of cases these are simply preventatives to self-injury on the part of those suffering from insanity or *delirium tremens*; while in no case can they be used without immediate notice being given to the Visiting Committee of Justices.

Under the head of Prison Punishments, we find that corporal punishment was inflicted in 138 cases, distributed among 29 prisons, no such measures being necessary therefore in the majority of prisons. There were 784



cases of relegation to punishment cells, but most offences were met either by dietary punishment (18,041 cases), or loss of stage or privilege (16,393 cases).

These prison offences amount to 43,771, and are classified thus :—Violence, 863; escapes or attempts to escape, 10 (only seven prisoners escaped without recapture in the year); idleness, 17,725; and other breaches of regulations (*e.g.*, talking, untidiness, destruction of property), 25,173. Considering, therefore, the class of persons necessarily found in prison, their want of discipline and self-control, it is satisfactory to see that offences are comparatively few and trivial; as, of course, the number of cases of punishment is by no means the same as the number of individuals punished.

The total number of separate sleeping cells is 22,769, whereof 4,775 are for women, the accommodation provided varying from 1,159 at Pentonville to 63 at Kendal and Brecon. The other prisons with cells for over 1,000 are: Strangeways, 1,131; Wakefield, 1,162; and Wandsworth, 1,128. Westminster is the only purely female prison, and Pentonville, Kirkdale, Wandsworth, and York only receive males. The greatest number of prisoners at one time during the year was 15,145 males and 3,711 females; whereby it is evident that if female crime much increases the accommodation will be insufficient. The daily average, however, was only 12,467 males and 2,908 females. The number sentenced to hard labour in the year was 86,181 males and 25,079 females.

For the 61 prisons there are 70 governors and deputy-governors. There are 65 chaplains and assistant-chaplains, the latter being provided at Clerkenwell, Pentonville, Wakefield, and Wandsworth. And 67

surgeons and assistant-surgeons, the latter being found at Clerkenwell, Pentonville, Liverpool, Strangeways, Wakefield, and Wandsworth. Clerks and schoolmasters amount to 178 (clerks constituting the vast majority), and there are four schoolmistresses. There are 58 matrons, and 1,051 male and 253 female officers of the warder class, other subordinate officers amounting to 153. The total is thus 1,579 male and 316 female prison officers of all grades. The pay and allowances of officers, including uniforms, &c., comes to £208,792; while the maintenance of prisoners is £110,363, divided into the following heads:—Victualling, £58,008; medicines, &c., £1,438; fuel, light, water, soap, &c., £32,555; clothing, bedding, furniture, &c., £18,359. Other expenses are:—Gratuities on discharge (earned by good conduct under the mark system), £6,914; ordinary repairs of buildings, £12,381; rent, £146, this item only occurring in the case of 12 prisons, and varying from 4d. (Carnarvon), to £35 2s. 6d. (Liverpool). Incidentals are £5,099. Total £24,541; and gross total expenses of our local prisons, £343,697. One prison (Pentonville) cost over £20,000 a year; two (Wakefield and Wandsworth), over £15,000; six over £10,000; and fourteen over £5,000. The average cost per prisoner comes on the whole to £22 7s. 1d.—viz., staff, £13 11s. 7d.; maintenance, £7 3s. 7d.; other expenses, £1 11s. 11d. per head: but the amount in each prison varies considerably—viz; from £56 (Brecon) to £16 (Liverpool, and Strangeways); the rule being, roughly, the smaller the prison the greater the expense, and that chiefly from the item of staff.

The value of prisoners' labour (that which is devoted to Government work is not actually paid for) comes to £120,928—under the heads of manufactures, buildings,

&c., £60,941; prison service, cooking, cleaning, &c., £57,141; incidentals, sale of old stores, &c., £2,846. It will be seen, therefore, that there is not much ground for the outcry sometimes made against prison labour and manufacture.

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*AMERICAN PRISON REFORM.*

A FEELING not merely of surprise, but of consternation, will be produced in any English reader of the Annual Report of the Prison Association of New York. British patriotism is said sometimes to take the form of a depreciation of English ways and institutions, and our respect for the progressiveness of our Transatlantic cousins may sometimes lead us to take excellence for granted where none of the hampering traditions and vested interests of feudalism exist. A wholesome corrective would be supplied by an investigation into the state of their prisons, which we do not hesitate to say would reveal a state of things unknown here, unless we unearthed the records and writings of some sixty years ago. The Association is, on paper, perfect in its plan, incorporated by an Act of Senate and Assembly, and combines the objects of our Howard Society and the various organizations for aiding discharged prisoners—whereby practice corrects theory and theory animates practice. It has four standing Committees—for finance, on detention, on prison discipline, and on discharged convicts, and a female department in addition; while there are no less than fifty local Committees for the different countries in

the State of New York which co-operate and correspond. It seems to have unlimited powers of visiting the various prisons, external interest being far more encouraged than with us, it has existed for thirty-eight years, and has an income of over three thousand dollars, the only paid official being apparently a general agent for police-court and prison work, like those maintained in London by the Church of England Temperance Society. Given, then, this Society, which reports yearly to the Senate, and given also an enlightened public opinion, we are hardly prepared to find them still speaking of "the monstrous evils connected with our country gaols," and pointing out that, in the face of statutes, classification or separation of prisoners is "almost necessarily disregarded and neglected in very many cases," and even "the safeguard of security is not generally maintained." The most ideal state of a prison is no doubt to be empty, but when this is impossible security might, at any rate, be attained. It is frankly admitted that the county gaol, as distinct from the state prison, remains, in a vast number of cases, "the same vicious and abominable institution, that it was a century ago"; and the evidence of Tocqueville, fifty years later, is quoted to the effect: "The gaols of the United States, are the worst I have ever seen;" while so recently as 1877, the Prison Reform Conference denounced the whole system as "a disgrace to civilization—hopelessly, irremediably bad." This they say is thoroughly supported by the latest reports from various counties. Many county prisons are as costly as unsanitary, and no work is provided even for those condemned to labour, which, as they are not slow to see, is injurious alike to the prisoner, who might form the habit of labour to fit him for an honest struggle on discharge, and to the State,

whose expenditure he ought, to some extent, to repay. The Elmira Reformatory is held up as an important and unique experiment in the right direction, because therein a prisoner's standing and privileges are determined by his behaviour; there is compulsory education, a mark system, and tickets of leave. That these points should but tentatively put forward in one place is indeed remarkable to those conversant with our English system. The alarmingly high and unnecessarily fluctuating rate of mortality (77 per 1,000 in some gaols as contrasted with our average of 8·4) is said to be caused by the in-nutritious quality, as well as the scantiness of the amount of the diet, and the fact (impossible in England) that the ordinary sleeping cells have no method of ventilation beyond the door. These generalizations are supported by reports from local committees, and by some tables of great interest. From the reports we cull the following passages which stand out from the general view of a most inconceivable state of affairs:—"Our county gaol is a disgrace. It is a filthy gaol. Criminals of all conditions are mixed together—twenty cells, and often thirty persons to occupy them." "Prisoners are usually together in the corridors, under no particular rules." "Prisoners have very frequently dug out." "The conversation between the males and females must be comparatively unrestricted." "As to sanitary provisions I know of none." "Prisoners are not required to work, but in the summer do some work for the Sheriff in his garden." "No ventilation whatever." "Our gaol was built about sixty years ago of hewn logs—some of the timbers are decayed with dry rot." In Monroe County "a batch of twenty-five prisoners got away at one time," after which the Grand Jury presented the gaol as "an unsafe place," adding,

amongst other points, "no ventilation, except by a few small and misplaced windows; the closet is a disgrace—should a fire break out in the hall way, rescue would be impossible." In another "the old sewer is choked up, and in warm weather the only way to render the apartments habitable is by throwing lime into the vault." Another is "roofed with tin; safe with a reasonable amount of watching." "Condemned criminals not usually kept separate from the rest." "Sewers defective so as to throw sewer gas into the cells; at times the stench is horrible." "The whole thing ought to be torn down." "Three prisoners escaped by digging with a stick where the plaster is soft." "Intercourse and conversation at all times." Turn now to the tabulated answers to inquiries. We find that when the question is asked—Are the convicted kept wholly separated from the unconvicted? the reply is negative for 45 out of the 63 gaols, "they can be" is said 5 times, "usually" 5 times, and "yes" 6 times. Are the sexes separated completely? "Yes" in 25 gaols, "imperfectly" in 29, "nominally" in 3, "possible" in 1, and absolutely "no" in 3. Are children kept separate from adults? "No" in 42 gaols is the answer, "imperfectly" in 9, "possible" in 2, and "yes" in 8. Is the hard-labour sentence carried out? "No" in 43 gaols is the astounding answer, "slightly" in 5, "yes" in only 2, of which one reports "yes fitfully." The date of erection of these gaols, it may be noted, varies from 1766 (Fulton) to 1878 (Erie), so that it cannot be pleaded that the evils are inseparable from the structural defects of buildings erected before attention was directed to sanitation and prison reform. When we look at the columns which give the number of cells and the maximum number of inmates, we find, to our utter amazement, such figures

as these:—Albany, 98 cells, 187 prisoners; King's, 94 cells, 250 prisoners; Renoselaer, 19 cells, 120 prisoners; and Westchester, 36 cells, and 140 prisoners. With regard to the general condition of the gaol building, it is said to be insecure in 30 instances, faulty in 23, bad in 23 more, very bad in 8, partly underground in 6, very faulty in 2, and made of wood in 4 cases. The sanitary condition is described as good in only 18 gaols out of 63, bad in 16, damp in 10, fair to poor in 8, light bad in 3, ventilation bad in 6, and drainage bad in 9, very bad in 1, and "prisoners' lives jeopardized" in 1.

In fact, to read this report causes one perpetually to be turning back to the title-page, to be sure one is not perusing John Howard's "State of the Prisons," as point after point comes up on which he animadverted with such success, and abuse after abuse is described from which our prisons have long been entirely free, even before the introduction of a uniform system, which public intelligence mainly created before centralization was attempted. Intelligence, humanity, the knowledge of what has been achieved in other countries, the Report shows that these are not wanting to the Association. Has it so utterly failed during thirty-eight years to educate and move an enlightened nation, that these things are still possible?

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### AN AMERICAN PRISON.

A RECENT copy of the Chicago Tribune contains a descriptive and instructive account of a visit (voluntary) to the Illinois State Prison, otherwise called the Chester

Penitentiary, which has been erected in the last five years, and therefore may be taken as exemplifying the present state of ideas in America with regard to prison matters. Much of the article will not of course be interesting to English readers, but one or two points deserve notice as pointing to systems and theories which widely differ from ours. Bearing in mind how, in England, the taxpayers grumble about the cost of prisons, and the jealousy of trades at the competition of prison labour complicates the question of how best convicts can be employed, it sounds strange to read, that in this one prison, 200 men were leased last spring to a trading firm to work in the shoe-shop at 51 cents a day, which, they congratulate themselves, is about three cents a day more than other institutions get; and another 150 men are leased to a brickmaker at 77 cents per man a day. This points either to a remarkable scarcity of labour outside, or to a more remarkable placidity amongst free labourers than would be found if similar things happened in England. Though this prison contains about 550 convicts, only seven are females. Is the virtue of American women of the most abnormal character, or have they not learned the desirability, from a moral and economical point of view, of having separate prisons for males and for females? The Warden sees one-half of the prisoners, we are told, one Sunday, and the rest the next Sunday. Preferable, surely, is the English plan, by which, in local prisons at any rate, he is seen each day, when complaints or applications can be made. The only suicide in the year was accomplished by a prisoner devouring phosphorus matches. How, we may ask, in a model institution, have prisoners access to a box of matches of any kind? They are handy for other purposes besides self-



destruction. On the important point of the mortality per annum per 1,000, however, we meet with a staggering table, which shows that the death-rate in 27 State prisons averages no less than 20 per thousand, ranging from 3.048 in Wisconsin to 77.625 in Mississippi, while small prisons like Tennessee and Texas, containing apparently only some 500 convicts, have 108 and 122 deaths in the year.

The Southern prisons seem those in which prison health deteriorates, which may be accounted for by climatic considerations, but generally the death-rate is most remarkable considering that the death-rate of London at large rarely touches 24 per 1,000, that of the Isle of Wight is 16, and the mortality in English prisons, owing to the perfection of sanitary and dietetic matters, is only 8.4 per 1,000, in spite of the unhealthiness of the classes from which prisoners are almost exclusively drawn. Even in New York, the death-rate of Clinton prison is 20.66. These figures and facts want some explanation, if not defence. The important matter of dietary hardly seems to enter into the question as a factor making for ill-health, inasmuch as it costs in this prison from eleven to twelve cents (say 6d.) a day, whereas the average cost of each English prisoner for maintenance is only £6 15s. 10d. per annum; and to take the Metropolitan prisons, the average weekly costs for food varies from 2/1 to 2/7. The same paper, by-the-by, contains another article pointing to the fact, consolatory to some of our readers, that there seems some connection between girth and goodness, red hair and rigid virtue, for both fat and "carrotty" criminals are exceedingly rare in American prisons: an observation which would apply in England as well. It really seems as if we had both something to teach

and something to learn from our Transatlantic cousins when we find their rate of prison mortality so fluctuating and yet so alarmingly high, and most of their convict establishments nearly self-supporting. One important thing, often and notoriously forgotten in England, has been cared for in this prison, which has been so built that the sunlight enters half the cells in the morning, and the other half in the afternoon. This is plainly impossible in a radiating prison like Millbank, and we are aware of one double cell, used as a chaplain's office, from which the sun has never been seen. The ventilation also is so carefully arranged that it is claimed that there is a complete change of air every minute in each cell. The whole institution is also lighted by electricity, which is an obvious improvement on a gas jet polluting the atmosphere of each small apartment, and occasionally overheating it.

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### A PÆNOLOGICAL EXPERIMENT.

THE latest report of the New York Prison Association shows in what a surprisingly bad state are the American prisons—insecure, insanitary, providing no labour in many instances, and generally recalling and exemplifying the state which we have left behind some sixty years or more. In conversation and in correspondence Americans have admitted, with regret and shame, that these things are so, but have commonly said that isolated and exceptional prisons, especially Elmira, presented a far different picture. The last annual report of the New York Reformatory at Elmira is now to hand, and certainly its principles and practice are remarkable, and even unique.

It is a prison for males between the ages of 16 and 30, with about 500 inmates, and has been in use some six years. It introduces features into criminal jurisprudence and treatment which are new not merely to New York, but to the world; and here we see in operation what all prison reformers desire—the first step to classification ensured by sending the more youthful, venial, and susceptible prisoners to a separate establishment for peculiar treatment. But the chief novelty is in the principle which prompts the action and treatment by the State. A prison, they say at New York, exists not chiefly for punishment, not even primarily for reformation, but for the protection of society from those who have been obnoxious or injurious to it, while that probability of noxiousness remains, and no longer. Hence an Act of 1877 takes from the courts the power of fixing or limiting the period of punishment, and sentences offenders simply to be detained in prison until it appears to the managers of Elmira Reformatory that they have so improved, intellectually and morally, that they may be let out on parole or ticket-of-leave for a probationary period of six months. A safeguard, however, against undue detention (which, of course, on these principles might be life-long), is found in the clause that provides that no imprisonment shall exceed the maximum term provided by law for the crime for which the prisoner was convicted. These “indefinites,” as they are called, can secure, by consistent and progressive good behaviour, a conditional release on parole in one year, and an absolute release in eighteen months, from the date of their admission, without regard to punishment or to the particular crime they have committed. And hereby it trades on that love of liberty which is next to love of life in strength among human motives. Let a

young burglar or post-office embezzler get his five years, and he knows he must "do" at least four of the five, and thereby he naturally falls into a heavy, unambitious, and dogged condition, that is careful only to avoid additional punishment, but has no incentive to moral and intellectual growth. At Elmira, however, he is made to feel, as he daily works out his own salvation or freedom, how profitable is virtue; and the mark system, which we use simply as a bribe to the abstention from ill-doing, is there, in an extended and improved form, productive of progressive well-doing in the three departments of industry, mental, and moral culture, and renders unnecessary any punishment save in the third or lowest grade, which never exceeds 15 per cent. of the whole.

And not merely are the inmates of this adult industrial school (such it really is) preserved as a separate and more hopeful class from the contamination, degradation, and emulation in evil, so constantly noted where criminals are indiscriminately herded together, but also the disfranchisement of criminals does not apply to those committed to Elmira; and in every case is employment found, if not by respectable friends, then by the reformatory, and an outfit provided, for their six months of freedom on parole. The voice of the State practically says to these offenders against its comfort or safety, "I have a right to be protected from you, but I have no desire to shut you up after I am reasonably assured that I need fear you no longer, nor to release you to prey on me again simply because you have served a definite sentence." Granted the premiss that prisons are primarily for the protection of society, and all this naturally follows. How often, in what innumerable instances, do we not find those in our prisons who have come to their right mind long before

their sentence is worked out, and might therefore be returned to society far more hopefully than when the long continuance of isolation and monotony has brought them to a fresh, unnatural, and far less hopeless state? Disease is removed by medicine, but an unnecessary continuance of the medicine will produce a fresh disease. And, on the other hand, especially in view of the absurdly futile punishment, with a maximum of a month, meted out to the drunken and disorderly characters that fill our gaols, how often is it not certain, and even made a matter of boast, that release will at once mean a return to dissolute or criminal practices? The man or woman is released because the definite punishment has ended, and is turned out on society as beneficially as if all bars were periodically removed from the cages of the carnivora in the Zoological Gardens. Information that may only be gathered after sentence, and observation of character that can only be possible in prison, often show that a light sentence in many cases is simply a travesty on justice, and an utterly improvident attempt to protect society. It is claimed, moreover, that while these indefinite sentences are more righteous as well as more merciful in the case of first and more venial offenders, whose character rapidly recovers tone under wise reformatory treatment, so, too, indeterminate sentences will be more deterrent to the professional criminals to whom, as to children, the unknown and the uncertain have greater terrors. Let them be sent to prison, they say, not for a definite period, but for a definite purpose; and this view is certainly worthy of far more attention than it has hitherto received on this side the Atlantic.

And, as it will surely be objected that under this system hypocrisy will be developed and rewarded, and the

greatest humbug be the first to be released, it must be noticed that prison officials are not the most, but, perhaps, by sad necessity the least, credulous of folk ; that release depends on industry and educational progress as well as apparent moral reform ; and that under our present system it is not unknown that judges or magistrates are imposed upon, and that the atmosphere of public sympathy or public vengeance may cause a sentence to be unduly severe or light. Passing from principles to details, it is interesting to notice that the average detention is sixteen months, though, under the old law, the minimum allotted to the offences of some of the prisoners was five or even ten years, and that out of 1,205 treated in five years as "indefinites" only 37 are known to have relapsed into crime, and if half of those ultimately lost sight of be added, the number is only 121. A great feature in the system is the minute inquiry made into the heredity, environment, and other conditions of the inmates, whereby it is found that insanity or epilepsy is found in the ancestry of 10·7 per cent. ; drunkenness is clearly traced in that of 35·1 per cent., and probably in that of 16 per cent. more ; the character of the home was positively bad in 48·1 per cent., and only fair in 41·1 per cent. ; 41·9 per cent. belonged to the "Holy Roman Church" (this must be infinitely above the ratio of Romanists to the rest of the population) ; and, as a result of primary examination, 79·7 per cent. are said to have been absolutely devoid of moral sense ! The school studies develop four ideas, *i.e.*, to teach all that aids to getting an honest living, the rights and duties of good citizens, the ethics of truth and obligation, and the main facts of science bearing on arts, industries, and health. Daily, during dinner, a summary of current news is read, letters in the higher grade can be

written and received weekly, the library is ample and entertaining as well as instructive, and the religious element is certainly not overdone when the Protestant chaplain only holds service on Sunday afternoon, and the Roman celebrates mass once a month, and twice a month gives an hour's instruction. Details, however, are comparatively unimportant, and would vary in every country; the point is to weigh well the principles of imprisonment as regarding primarily the safety of the State and of indefinite sentences. Maybe herein shall we find the readiest and most efficacious way of removing the undoubted blots of the want of classification, and the too frequent excess or defect of punishment or separation from the community that is observable in the working out of our ordinary system, that is more honoured by time than by success.

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### CANADIAN PRISONS.

NOTHING is more interesting and even necessary to the mind that seeks to be well balanced and free from the prejudice and ignorance that insularity or one-ideaism begets, than any form of comparative study, whether it be of religions, of languages, of physiology, or even of institutions that are in essence alike but vary according to their racial, political, or religious environment. The man who knows but one language knows none, is a suggestive and true proverb though it take the form of a paradox as do many deep truths. The man who confines his interests and affection to his own land or caste or profession, must ever stunt his mental growth, and

be comparatively void of that relative knowledge and broadened sympathy which will above all things make him pleasantly useful to his fellow men. Such knowledge and such a habit of comparison will prevent patriotism from being blinded by prejudice, and by a healthy rivalry will promote the efficiency of the most theoretically perfect institution. International congresses do much in this direction, and prison reform in England has been largely promoted since the days of Howard by the observation, whether it led to imitation or to avoidance, of what existed or was being tried in other lands. Many of Howard's suggestions were based on his Continental experience, and Belgium and other countries have taught much to our more recent prison reformers. In another article I have shown how remarkably behind the age are American prisons, and at any rate those of the State of New York, and a letter recently received from one of the best informed of Americans in this line of philanthropy fully admits, while it mourns over, the astounding state of affairs due not so much to want of intelligence or will as to the miserable "Spoils System," whereby no fixity of tenure is allowed ever to the humblest gaol-governor, who, moreover, has been selected on the grounds not of fitness, but of political partizanship.

A far more cheering picture is however presented by the fifteenth annual report of the inspector of the prisons of the Canadian province of Ontario; wherein there are 39 gaols and 8 "lock-ups," to which the commitments in 1882 were 9,620. The population of the Province being 1,942,161, the ratio is 1 to 201. Of these re-commitments account for 3,261—a too high average. In spite of the stringent liquor laws which obtain over the greater part of the Dominion, the commitments for being drunk



and disorderly amount to 3,497, though the increase in this and other offences against public order and peace is less than that of any other class of crime, drunkenness by itself having increased five per cent. on the previous year. Only 208 out of 5,920 offenders were sentenced to a term above two years, including reformatory cases. Five were sentenced to death, but all subsequently reprieved. Women are less criminal than in England, as only 1,817 out of 9,620 were females. Canadian-born offenders account for half the total, while Ireland is represented by 2,169, England by 1,350, and Scotland by 608. The religious denominations of prisoners are: Romanists, 3,352; Church of England, 3,152; Presbyterians, 1,293; Methodists, 1,245; and others, 578. They have a separate schedule showing whether prisoners are said, or claim, to be of temperate or intemperate habits, though how this information is gathered is not stated; 6,678 out of the 9,620 are said to be intemperate, a proportion somewhat lower than that which is generally taken to be the case with us. Their educational status is shown by the number of those who could neither read nor write being 2,583; but of course the tables do not show whether this ignorance is found chiefly amongst the emigrants or the natives. The gaol population of a given day is 1,856, or about that of one of our larger prisons, a number which is however relatively high, regard being had to the scattered population and other conditions of life and employment.

When we come however to the separate reports of the state of each prison we find a most happy contrast presented to that of the American gaols, and this in every point, so that without undue John Bullism we may rejoice over the better conduct of those penal establish-

ments in the great continent which are under British rule. This result is obviously due very much to the system of inspection from a central source of power of which no traces were observed in the American reports. The only points indeed which seem strange to English ideas and progress in prison reform are, firstly, the absurd smallness of most of the gaols, which of course entails too great expenditure, too little discipline, and a far lower type of prison officials of the higher grades. One of the first things done under our last Prison Act was to sweep away our unnecessary and undesirably small prisons to the benefit alike of the taxpayer and the criminal; but in Ontario we find three persons only in custody in one prison when it was inspected, ten in the next, five in the next, three in the next, and so on, the number of necessary officials sometimes being largely in excess of the prisoners. Secondly, it is strange to English ways to find lunatics committed to prison simply, apparently, to save trouble, and *en route* for an asylum. Thus in Barne gaol the inspector found "three had been sent to asylums on the morning of his visit, and three were still in gaol, two of whom were proper subjects for the asylum," though the whole number of prisoners was only seventeen. In Berlin gaol the only two female prisoners are lunatics awaiting removal. In Cornwall, of three male prisoners, "one was an old man committed as a lunatic." Can any Canadian explain the necessity or desirability of this system? In one case a girl had actually been acquitted, but "the judge thought it not safe to set her at large," and yet the doctor apparently thought she was "not a proper subject for an asylum for the insane." She therefore fell between the two stools, and remained a prisoner though acquitted. Thirdly, the

diminutive gaols are responsible for governors or responsible turnkeys of a status and type that would probably be considered undesirable by prison reformers, as may be gathered from one report which speaks of the turnkey and his family having only two small rooms for four persons. But of course an expensive because educated staff cannot be provided for prisons not so large as the range of cells at our police courts. Fourthly, the danger of fire seems strangely overlooked hitherto, when the inspector has to point out the danger of unprotected wood stoves that could be easily upset ; of a large gaol (for Canada) being lit with coal-oil lamps, and even in this great central prison at Toronto a candle is given to each prisoner, and thus a source of danger is removed from the control of the guards.

On the other hand, in one or two respects we find evidence of that which is worthy of consideration if not of adoption in England. Canada and America are at one in adopting the system of leasing out their convict labour to contractors in various lines of industry, which seems educative to the prisoners and remunerative to the State, brick-making, broom-making, and the manufacture of wooden utensils being the labour most affected. We find incidentally that corporal punishment is not only awarded for attempts at escape and aggravated offences against prison rules, but also is part of the sentence that can be inflicted for indecent assaults—a practice that might with advantage be imported for the greater protection of our young women and children. And lastly, a wide difference of principle is indicated by the existence of an authorized and flourishing Sunday School in the only prison of any respectable size. Unfortunately, as it seems to many, the whole genius of prison discipline in

England is against the admission of any external and voluntary influence for good, and the isolation from the outside world is made as complete as possible. A Sunday School may not be the first thing to be desired in a prison, but its existence goes far to render impossible the air of jealous suspicion which is not unnaturally aroused in England by the difficulties thrown in the way of agencies for good, of unofficial visitations and admissions more readily obtainable by the public.

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*WHY ARE OUR PRISONS FAILURES?*

It is well, alike for those who in the Church, in the State, or in the family, have to impose, or those who have to bear, punishment, to consider what are its objects. They must ask not merely What? but Why? An animal can observe facts, a man seeks out the reasons for facts. The idea and the office of a father should be kept in view by all who punish, lest they act but from the spirit of revenge, or fear, or cruelty, and at the dictates of caprice rather than of love, reason, and justice. And the idea of being a son receiving chastisement as an application or result of affection should be in the mind of all who are punished, so as to exclude the natural feelings of resentment and produce in all its fulness the beneficial results that should follow. On neither side will this be the case unless the principles of punishment are known, remembered, and accepted; unless, moreover, all the reasons for punishment are kept in view and harmoniously blended, while each of them has its due place and weight. A moment's reflection will show that for more objects

than one any given punishment or system of correction must be established and applied. A deeper consideration will probably lead to the conclusion that the reasons for punishment are, or ought to be, fourfold, namely:—

1. The loss or pain or shame of the offender.
2. The deterring effect of the punishment of an individual, upon himself in view of a fresh temptation to wrong-doing, and upon others who may be inclined to commit an offence, but may find the fear of known consequences overcome that inclination.
3. The reformation of the offender, which is to be in almost every case hoped for as probable or looked on as possible, whereby he may be restored to the society he has injured, useful instead of noxious.
4. The protection of the family, the community, or the State, from the harm the evil-doer will or may inflict while in the same state of mind which induced his crime.

It is no doubt, from various reasons, difficult always to keep all these four principles simultaneously in view, to harmonize them, and give each its due place and weight. Difficult, but not impossible as it is to regard at one time all sides of a solid square. How difficult it is to apply these principles of justice in the administration of justice will be gathered from the study of history, or of the criminal codes and systems of punishment of various ages and nations, which usually take up one or two of the objects of correction to the exclusion of the rest, or at any rate as making some primary and others subsidiary, some essential and others accidental. A code drawn up by one man, a system administered by an irresponsible ruler or judge, will almost always fail in this way from the perhaps inevitable want of balance or balancing power that a single character will possess. The majority of

parents either spoil or unduly coerce their children, on occasion if not habitually. A code that is not the result of many minds and hearts will usually create the crime it seeks and professes to extirpate or diminish, because drafted as an exponent of only some principles instead of all that rightfully claim their place and weight.

The judge will think and say, "I punish you because you have committed a crime." The minister of religion will say, "You are punished that you may become penitent and reformed." The statesman will decree that a certain act or habit must be punished that the commonwealth be protected from injury, whether on the part of the noxious individual or of those who would probably follow his example. All three would be right, and all three would be wrong. Each proclaims a truth, but forgets that it is not the only—perhaps not even the chief—truth. It is not one truth that is needed, but oneness in truth.

Let us now see if certain forms of punishment do regard, or from their nature can regard, all four principles of punishment. Capital punishment plainly has in view three points out of the four, punition, deterrence, and the protection of the State by the amputation from the body politic of a diseased member, the extirpation of one who has proved himself highly noxious. It might seem absurd to expect that the principle of desiring the reformation of the offender should in this instance be found, but yet it is present, at any rate in English law, in the provision that execution shall not too speedily follow sentence, two Sundays being allowed and prescribed to pass between the doom and the death.

The need of affording protection to the State is also somewhat forgotten in our ordinary punishments of so

many months or years of hard labour or penal servitude, however much they may punish, deter, and afford opportunity for the application of reformatory agencies. Protection is of course afforded while the noxious individual is in durance vile, but when his sentence expires he is and must be released, even though it may be morally certain that he means at once to resume his habits of crime that have been temporarily suspended from circumstances not under his own control. He may even boast of his intentions, but out he must go, with as much safety to the State as if all mad dogs were muzzled for twenty-four hours and then all unmuzzled, because it had been found that in that period a certain proportion ceased to be dangerous: or as if all small-pox patients were discharged from hospital so many weeks after reception, whether cured or not.

Feeling this difficulty, and exalting the principle that the protection of the State is one of the objects of punishment, America has established in Elmira a prison, or rather a reformatory for adults, in which the indeterminate sentence system is applied. The offender is released, not when he has "done" so much time, but when he has proved himself fit for liberty, which liberty is at first modified by his being for a while on parole and under supervision. Are we quite safe and right in practically ignoring the fact that a certain proportion of criminals are perfectly unfit, whether from weakness of character or determinate viciousness, for liberty, if the safety and rights of others are to be considered? We could not insure a man's being innocuous when released; but we might do something to prevent his being released when still undoubtedly noxious.

Under the system of ticket-of-leave, or release on

parole, as it is called in America, the convict liberated before his or her time in consequence of orderly conduct has to report monthly to the police, to give notice of any change of residence, and to submit to a few restrictions which are framed in the interests of the protection of the State. So, too, habitual offenders may be sentenced to a period of supervision in addition to and at the expiration of their imprisonment. This works well and injures no one who means to do well, and the system might beneficially be applied, from a different motive, towards many, if not most first offenders. The State says to some, "You have been so obviously and persistently noxious that I do no injustice in assuming the possibility, and even the probability, of you being the same even after this fresh punishment; therefore, for my own protection I require that you enable me to keep my eye on you for awhile." The State might, without violence to justice, say to others, "Your character and conduct have hitherto been so good that I may assume the probability of this exposure and loss of reputation being sufficient check should temptation again arise; therefore it will be sufficient that you enable me to keep my eye on you for a stated period." How little, however, this principle is kept in view in our legislation or jurisprudence was forcibly shown by the remarks of Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, when addressing in our hearing an assemblage of those who had all belonged to the criminal class, and expatiating, somewhat to even their astonishment and much to their gratification, on the iniquity of giving a severe punishment for a theft that was petty even though preceded by many thefts and convictions. Obviously he forgot that the cumulative or progressive system of punishment had its roots in natural justice, and was



presumably based also on a desire to protect the community from one who had repeatedly evinced a criminal disposition, uncured, unchecked, by previous lesser punishments. The child can understand the equity of "If you do that again you must stand in the corner ten minutes instead of five." The audience of Lord Coleridge were pleased to hear that he thought a repeated offence no worse than an isolated one. And it has been observed that the knowledge that punishments for felony are ordinarily progressive is the chiefly deterrent thought in the mind of the habitual criminal, while the non-progressive character of punishment for drunkenness or crimes of violence renders such offences less considered as wrong by those whose chief standard of morality is found in the question, "What time or fine can I get for this?"

Let us now test in another way the question whether all objects of punishment are concurrently kept in view. What do the writers on the theory of punishment say? The Marquis Beccaria, in the eighteenth century, was the pioneer of the application of scientific and philosophic, and yet humanitarian, principles to the punishment of crime, and his work has never passed from the consideration of men who study this point. He then said, "The end of punishment is no other than to prevent the criminal from doing further harm to society, and to prevent others from doing the like offence." Two objects, but not four. The Marquis had special need and desire to lead men of his time away from the barbarity which had arisen from an exaggerated, because almost sole, desire to punish the offender. The possibility and duty and social advantage of trying to reform him was then so little considered that it was natural, perhaps, that even so

enlightened a reformer should have ignored this point. But no one now would take his definition as adequate.

Pass now from the earliest to the latest exponent of the rational, just, and efficacious methods of dealing with criminals. What says Sir E. DuCane in his admirably clear and well-written "The Punishment and Prevention of Crime"? Much on deterrence, less on punishment, little on the protection of the State, and as to the reformation of the adult prisoner hardly anything. A reference to the Index will show that the subject of the reformatory element is to be found treated on page 6. There we find the remark that to cure crime a combination of penal and reformatory elements applied in their proper circumstances, and in their due proportions, is needed; but thence we pass without another word to the subjects of deterrence and punishment, which almost exclusively occupy the remainder of the volume. Had, however, a similar book been produced some eighty or ninety years ago we should have found three principles kept vigorously to the front, but the fourth (that of reformation) absolutely ignored by the writer, if belonging to the Home Office. As Sir Edmund remarks, "The idea of reforming the convicts does not seem to have entered into the minds of those who framed the transportation system." The hulk prisons were established in 1776, but no chaplains were appointed to them till after 1802. No provision was made for any moral or religious teaching amongst those who were first to be transported. When on the appeal to the Bishop of London a chaplain for Botany Bay was appointed, no church was built for six years, *i.e.*, until the Home Office had attended to *necessary* matters. Matters grew so bad that in one penal colony it occurred as a happy thought to some one that it might do no harm

if religion were tried, and therefore they released a Roman Catholic priest, who was a convict, and set him to work. Till the year 1836 the settlement in Norfolk Island had never been visited by a chaplain except once in 1791! As infection lingers in a building, so the defective or erroneous views of a public department are apt to die hard, and to hamper good which they dare not exclude, and the pendulum must swing almost as far in the opposite direction before the *juste milieu* will be attained. As matters are now, those who have laboured officially in prisons have good grounds for saying, in the interests alike of prisoners and the public, as I said in one of my reports to the Home Secretary: "I can only repeat in stronger terms the warning voice I uttered in my last report, of the great danger we incur by the development of discipline and sanitation without the trinity being completed by its due place and weight being accorded to all that aims at the reformation of the offender. Men are asking, and will more loudly ask, 'Why are our prisons such utter failures?' In the face of the phenomena of recidivism and men and women with hundreds of convictions, it is absurd to imagine they are as deterrent as they should be. The women in our 'incurable class,' *i.e.*, those who have been convicted over ten times, have nearly doubled in six years, increasing from 5,673 to 9,451, while they number 31.6 per cent. on the total recommitments. Real punishment is non-existent save for some in some prisons where the tread-wheel exists. 'Hard labour' is such that no prisoner could get a good living outside if he did not work harder. The punishment for drunkenness and offences arising therefrom, which chiefly fill our prisons, has been called by a Select Committee of Parliament

‘absolutely inadequate.’ You give little safety to the State, as criminals are discharged simply because they have ‘done their time,’ and are set free to injure the community, with the full knowledge that they mean to do nothing else. You don’t protect us ; you don’t deter them. Why is it that the idea of reformation is but barely kept in sight ; that America, Canada, and other countries are as far before us in reformatory efforts as they are behind us in discipline and sanitation? Why is so little use made of external and volunteer (but authorized) agents? Why should it be so much easier for a man to enter a prison as a criminal than as a philanthropist or a citizen interested in seeing for himself whether things are as they should be? Dwarf and starve reformatory agencies within the walls, and let the public be apathetic and short-sighted in the help they will give to discharged prisoners, and then, in the place of the real, large, and increasing diminution of crime we have a right to expect, we shall continue to cleanse the outside of the platter, and plume ourselves on its brightness, until a pestilence is bred by its contents, that have been allowed to remain unproductive or noxious when they might have been turned into solid value to the State.”



## V.

### *THE LEGISLATIVE TREATMENT OF DRUNKARDS.*

*Is it desirable that fines should be allowed after a certain number of convictions for drunkenness within a certain period; or that a month should remain as the maximum imprisonment?*

As the result of close observation and frequent conversations with those who had by drunkenness brought themselves under the operations of the law, and moreover with those who in many and varied ways were labouring to save them, it was strongly borne in upon my mind, that one of the most pressing remedies for the existing evils of, and arising from, intemperance, was an improvement of the present system of the legal treatment of drunkards. I therefore drew up certain questions which, by the agency of the Church of England Temperance Society, and by the leave of the Home Office, were submitted to the Governors and Chaplains of all English local prisons. Answers were largely and fully made, carefully examined and tabulated, with the following result.

The first question asked was, "Is the present system of imprisonment for drunkenness to any extent curative?"

It may be noted, first of all, that, as two gentlemen point out "Persons are not imprisoned for drunkenness

only ; it is intended as *punishment* for riotous, disorderly, or indecent conduct during drunkenness." "Helpless drunkards seldom have more than to pay a small fine, or, as an alternative, a few days in prison, and many only stay one night at the police-station."

This is of course true ; drunkenness *per se* is no crime in the eyes of the law ; but as it is essentially the drunkenness, and but accidentally the superadded and consequent bad conduct, that brings the drunkard into prison, the phrase may stand as practically, if not strictly, accurate.

And secondly, the expression "to any extent" was perhaps unfortunate as being indefinite ; which accounts for the fact that of those who have simply answered the question with a yes or no, six say yes, and nineteen say no. This does not obviously imply a complete variance of opinion, but merely indicates that some have laid stress on the word "any," while most have looked to the entire purport of the question. In fact, every one would probably answer yes, if a strong emphasis were laid upon the word "any," while the vast majority, looking at the spirit rather than the letter of the question, answer in the negative.

It will be useful, therefore, to sift out from the answers those which indicate the cases or circumstances in which imprisonment may have or has a beneficial effect ; and then we can pass to the reasons given or suggested why the present system fails to have the effect that legislators intended, for in this as in all other instances (save capital punishment) the reformation as well as the punishment of the offender was no doubt kept in view.

It is said, then, that a beneficial and curative result may follow imprisonment, "with the more respectable class," in whom shame may be supposed to be more

operative, and the example of the home circle less vicious. "For a first offence it may prove efficacious." "The first imprisonment for drunkenness doubtless acts in many cases as a strong preventive." "Slightly with beginners, not lost to good influences." "When the prisoner is not hardened in the vice." "Occasionally, and for a period of more or less duration." (This suggests the sensible caution that a case cannot be reckoned as reformed until time has been given to see if shame has but a transitory effect: it is undoubtedly the case that many even hopeless drunkards will abstain for a short time after imprisonment.) And again, one who is obviously a close observer points out that this agent shame is operative in rural districts where the offence is notorious, and the offender known to many, but in populous towns its force is necessarily lessened or lost. "To occasional drunkards, and men who have been suddenly overcome, it may be beneficial," but as several point out, the first imprisonment has been usually preceded by several lockings up and fines, in the course of which shame has dissipated. Then, too, it is observed that imprisonment means for some a first introduction to good influences, under which they may be induced to sign the pledge, and receive advice and direction as to how and where, in the neighbourhood of their homes, they may find better means and places in which to spend their evenings; nor can we ignore the salutary effects which often follow the opportunity, or rather the necessity, for thought which they have sedulously avoided heretofore. And once more the physical and moral advantages of even a short break in drinking habits are indicated in such answers as these, "It keeps the man for a certain time from the drink," "It affords an opportunity for breaking off the evil habit."

Some, therefore, give a qualified yes to the question ; the great majority, however, give an unqualified no, and give uniformly the reason for their answer that the sentences are too short. When, for example (to quote an instance known to me), a woman is thrice in one week sentenced to three days for drunken conduct (the days of apprehension and discharge counting legally as whole days) it is obvious there is little time for influence, or other moral and physical advantages, to be brought to bear upon the subject. Many are indeed hardly sober when discharged on the completion of their sentence, and are confined not so long as the natural consequences of a debauch might confine them to their own homes. If the idea of retributive justice enters into the normal sentences of three or seven days, it is but a mockery and a sham ; if the curative or reformatory idea is supposed to be co-existent, the present system is simply unkind to the person supposed to be affected by it. And moreover there is not only the absence of benefit, but probably the presence of harm, not merely moral from the low estimation of the evil which must come from the slight punishments or checks, but also from physical sources indicated by the following answers from experienced observers: "I believe short sentences on low diet tend to increase intemperance." "The diet unfits him to do a day's work when he leaves." "The seven or fourteen days usually given are just about enough to clear the head and stomach of those who drink to excess, but do not allay their craving for drink, rather render their appetite for it the keener."

It may well be urged that drunkenness is more of a disease than a crime, and that therefore Retreats such as can be established under Dr. Cameron's Act would be preferable as places of detention for drunkards. True



but when one remembers the appalling numbers at present apprehended, and their usual and almost necessary impetuosity, it is obvious that the State would have a vast work before it in providing institutions adequate to the needs of the case, and then these places would be considered, what in fact they would in reality be, simply prisons for a special class of offenders. As it is, our prisons are our State Inebriate Asylums, and should be recognized as such, and if the commitments are proved to be in almost every case inefficacious, from the shortness of the term, it naturally seems that the fault lies in the law, by which a few days' incarceration is the rule (and not even that, when a fine is allowed and paid) and a month the extreme limit. Let there be a cumulative system of punishment, and let the limit be extended, and then the moral and physical advantages of prison life, and of compulsory abstinence would not fail to have, in a vast number of cases, a real and permanent effect. If the question of philanthropy is to have any weight with the makers or administrators of the law, he is least worthy of the name of philanthropist who upholds, or is contented with the present system.

Two answers are *sui generis*, and may receive a word to themselves. It is answered, "Nothing will cure a confirmed drunkard but medical treatment and seclusion from all temptation." Exactly; but only in prison under existing circumstances is the confirmed drunkard (unless wealthy) likely to meet with these means of cure, and yet just when they may begin to act he is discharged. The other runs thus: "No system but the grace of God will permanently cure an habitual drunkard." True again, and equally true of the habitual sinner of any type or kind, but is it impossible that this grace may

be sought, found, and applied in prison? Is it more likely to be sought and found in the drunkard's external haunts and ways of life? And above all, is not the wisest theology conveyed in the adage, "Heaven helps those who help themselves"? What branch of human effort for the amelioration or elevation of humanity could possibly continue if this statement were to forbid its incèption? Neither the legislature nor prison officials ignore or neglect the utility of religion and the means of grace in the work of reformation, but to ignore the collateral advantages of moral training, sanitary and physical aids, and even of deterrent punishment, would be as fatal and even as profane.

2. The second question was : Whether a month should be (as now) the maximum that can be inflicted for the offence of being drunk and disorderly, or drunk and incapable.

Here, again, there is a difference of opinion observable in the answers, but those who are content with the existing state of the law are but a handful compared with those who say "No"—"emphatically not"—"certainly not." To take, for example, those who without giving reasons answer simply in the negative or the affirmative, twelve only answer yes, and sixty-two give a decided no.

Let us then clear the way by first dealing with the affirmative answers. One or two say they consider a month sufficient as a maximum if the only object in view is punishment ; but this it is obviously not, and in fact all legal punishment and restraint should keep the aspects of the reformation of the offender and the deterring other probable offenders as much in view as that of the punishment of the culprit. It is again remarked that it is of little consequence to the habitual drunkard what length

of sentence is inflicted : which gives a sufficiently gloomy view of the hopelessness of his case. Or it is objected to the suggested increase of time that long periods would deprive the innocent family of the services of the breadwinner ; to which it may reasonably be retorted that in probably the majority of cases the habitual drunkards, male or female, have none such dependent on them, and moreover their habits being considered, the amount they contribute to the family exchequer is hardly a considerable amount, while in many cases the family would be not only happier, but more prosperous, when the drag of the prodigal drunkard is removed. And if in a few instances this objection might hold with regard to men, in a most infinitesimal amount would it be valid with regard to female habitual drunkards who are the most hopeless and also most numerous. One gentleman maintains that the special cases are so few that it would be unwise to increase the magisterial power of punishment ; an answer that would seem to be given in forgetfulness of the fact that in the Judicial Statistics for 1881 no less than 36,989 are described as habitual drunkards, while in one prison alone the chaplain reports that there were at one time "one woman for the 146th time, one for the 133rd, one for the 108th, one for the 78th, and one for the 71st time ; 13 between 20 and 40 times, and many between 10 and 20 times ; and amongst male prisoners one for the 65th time, one for the 60th, one for the 59th, one for the 47th, six between 20 and 40, and many between 10 and 20 times. These are known habitual drunkards, and their convictions are almost entirely for drunkenness."

Another practical objection is drawn from the existing disciplinary and dietary rules of prisons, by which after the first month the labour is lessened, other hardships

are mitigated, and the dietary is improved, and that therefore, as a deterrent simply, a month may be as much dreaded as two or more. But this could of course be readily met, if necessary, by a change in the existing rules.

The immense and practically unanimous consensus of opinion is, however, that the present maximum of a month is utterly useless as a deterrent when the habit has been formed and several previous terms have been endured ; while morally and physically it is of little use and even may be injurious to the habitual drunkard, and that it would be an act of philanthropy and kindness in fact, though not may be in appearance, to increase, even largely, the maximum. It is urged, as a matter of experience, that drunkards are simply hardened and encouraged by knowing that they can only get the already familiar "40s. or a month." I have in my mind for example, a woman, who, during 1880, suffered no less than nine separate imprisonments of a month each for being drunk and disorderly, besides shorter terms ; and others ("rounders" or "repeaters" as they are called in America), who for years have never spent a month out of prison, though without ever having had a longer period of incarceration than a month. Another London woman has been convicted 22 times for one month, twice for two months, once for three months, 50 times for seven days and upwards, 50 times for under seven days, *i.e.*, has only suffered about four years' imprisonment in the aggregate for 125 convictions for drunkenness or offences arising therefrom. The period is, as many remark, too short for the offender or sufferer to get physically free from the effects of intemperance, and the craving (often periodic) may be at its height when the

prisoner is discharged. Any physician at the head of an inebriate institution would absolutely refuse to undertake a case unless with some promise or guarantee that several months should be spent under his care.

The limit must, of course, "depend upon the antecedents and surroundings of the case," and sometimes at least it would be desirable that "a remand should be ordered to obtain the previous character of the accused," but in probably eight cases out of ten the convictions are all from the same court, and the face of the habitual drunkard is as well known as that of the magistrate.

And to this consensus of governors and chaplains might be added the remarks of many a prisoner : "What is the use of giving me a month, it will only be the same thing over again ;" or, "It is cruel to be always letting me out only that I may return ; why can't the magistrate give me time in prison to get straight ? Why can't the Government or somebody keep me here or somewhere till I am cured ?"

3. It was inquired in the third place whether for repeated offences a cumulative imprisonment, say up to twelve months, would be productive of good results, as (A) being a deterrent ; (B) giving opportunities for physical improvement. With regard to the first portion of the query there is a large consensus of opinion in the affirmative, 34 giving an unqualified and unconditioned affirmative, and 22 an affirmative in some respects qualified or conditioned, while four return the answer "doubtful," four give a qualified, and 13 an unqualified negative. This gives on the whole 56 in favour of, and but 17 against, the suggested increase of penalty as a deterrent from intemperance. The negative answers

look hopelessly on habitual drunkards, a view for which there is but too sad justification, five answering that "no *punishment* will cure an habitual drunkard," and one declaring that even a twelvemonth is too short to produce a lasting amendment. One very truly distinguishes between the case of the comparatively young and those that are middle-aged or old, denying that in the latter case any punishment would deter or cure. The middle class of answers is represented by the words of one, "The prospect of a possible twelve months would cause not a few to be more careful, and tend to check the propensity to intemperance," and by phrases varying from "possibly" to "in many cases." By far the larger number, however, give no uncertain answer in the affirmative, which is only qualified in a few instances by the suggestions that six months might be sufficient as a deterrent, and as effectual from this point of view as double that time; and again it is desired by three that inebriates should receive special medical treatment, and not come under the same discipline as other offenders. It is also affirmed that the prison is the wrong place in which to reclaim drunkards, and that such long imprisonments would better be endured in a place of another description. This is no doubt true and desirable, and when the English Government has established retreats or places to which habitual drunkards can be involuntarily committed, as is the case notably in America, no one would probably desire that what is more a disease than a crime (though combining the natures of both) should be dealt with in ordinary prisons. But until Dr. Cameron's Act is thus happily extended, and State money founds or aids such retreats, we are unfortunately obliged to make the best use that we can of our prisons,

which are in fact, though not in name, State inebriate asylums, in which, however, the treatment and period of detention found not only desirable but absolutely necessary in other institutions for the inebriate, is unfortunately absent.

Additional testimony to the futility of our present practice, and the more than probable advantage of an extension of the time of punishment, is afforded by several witnesses examined before the Lords' Committee on intemperance. Thus the President of Board of Trade does not believe that short imprisonment will check even incipient drunkenness. The Rev. T. Nugent (a Roman Catholic prison minister of great experience and fame) considers giving a girl who has been ten or twelve times in prison, seven or fourteen days has no deterrent effect whatever. He proposed before the Social Science Congress that after young women under twenty had been imprisoned ten times they should have three months, and then on their next appearance be sent to the sessions and there receive twelve months. He had found that where this had been done it had a very good effect indeed; but they cared nothing for a few days' imprisonment, and some were no sooner out than in again. The gaol, he says, is an inebriates' asylum. He is strongly in favour of cumulative punishment. An incorrigible drunkard can now be detained for twelve months if committed under the Vagrant Act as an "incorrigible rogue and vagabond." Four such cases, he says, occurred at the last Liverpool Sessions, and the most troublesome and violent women are cured more effectually by a long sentence than by anything else. Mr. F. C. Fowler also (a stipendiary magistrate) says that "If after three convictions within twelve or

eighteen months for disorderly conduct or drunkenness, a person were deemed to be an habitual drunkard, and were held liable to find sureties, or be committed in default, it would be an exceedingly useful method of dealing with such." The question of sureties is also alluded to by one of the respondents to the questions put by the Church of England Temperance Society, and he considers "they would be, and would look, better." This may be so, but a wide experience of the circumstances of Metropolitan habitual drunkards, at any rate, does not lead to the conclusion that any sureties would readily be found.

Two answers to this part of the question are *sui generis*, and worth noticing at any rate as such. One gentleman thinks "no punishment should be inflicted unless a public scandal has been caused;" to which it may be answered that as simple drunkenness, *i.e.*, drunkenness not accompanied by public disorderly conduct and language, or entire incapacity to take care of oneself, is not punishable, the cases in which no public scandal is caused are few indeed. Another makes the practical remark that "no Government would sanction such an increase of punishment, as the capacity of most gaols would have at once to be doubled." There is no doubt something in this objection, but it must be remembered that unless the great majority of those who speak from long and wide experience and observation be utterly mistaken, the mere passing of an Act to the proposed effect would cause many usual inmates of our prisons to consider and amend their ways, and that both by prevention and by cure it is confidently hoped that the numbers of those that are as habitually in prison as habitually drunken when outside would be speedily and permanently reduced.



It should be noted that in 1872 the House of Commons appointed a select committee to consider various points connected with drunkenness, and that this select committee reported "that there is entire concurrence of all the witnesses in the absolute inadequacy of existing laws to check drunkenness, whether casual or otherwise; rendering it desirable that fresh legislation on the subject should take place, and that the laws should be made more simple, uniform, and stringent." And again, "that small fines and short imprisonment are proved to be utterly useless." The matter, however, seems to have run the usual Parliamentary course of much evidence—some debate—no action.

The second part of the third question, as to whether a cumulative imprisonment up to twelve months would be desirable as giving opportunities for physical improvement, whereby, we may add, moral improvement also becomes more probable, is answered almost unanimously in the affirmative. Seven indeed return a negative, and twelve give a doubtful or qualified answer; but sixty-two speak most decidedly of the advantage that would accrue by such a course. Decidedly, most certainly, undoubtedly, very beneficial, of most importance, of great advantage—such are the answers they give, pointing out that the longer the dipsomaniac is under the influence, not only of compulsory total abstinence, but also of regular hours, regular diet (and that, as one affirms, especially suited for the disordered stomach of a drunkard), the more likely is his future recovery and abiding reformation. As an official of one of our largest prisons remarks, "the present sentences are not long enough to get the drink out of them," the poison is still in the system, the craving is possibly at its height, and the body is even

more unfit than before incarceration to bear the effects of liquor. Were, however, the sentences lengthened, the prisoners would come under an improved dietary after the first month, which would be the positive element in the recovery by the body of a more healthy tone. This is a matter of daily experience in the case of drinkers, or drunkards, who, having committed some other offence (an assault, for example), get a longer sentence. Their admissions and their altered personal appearances prove plainly the benefit they have derived from the comparatively long seclusion from intoxicants. Let an habitual drunkard come in for the usual short term sodden, inflamed, and shaky, and in not a much better state will he or she be discharged ; but let them have received a longer sentence for some collateral offence, and they seem on exit some years younger, and admit themselves they feel infinitely better than has long been the case, even their weight having not unfrequently increased.

One respondent, as much qualified as any one could be to speak from experience, answers that "For women such treatment is the only hope ; but legislature should provide industrial homes, where the last half of the sentence should be spent, conditional on good conduct." An excellent suggestion, a most desirable plan, already adopted to a certain extent in the case of female convicts, but the question is not what the legislature should do, but what they will. It is much to be feared that not yet will any Government see the penny wise and pound foolish nature of the present legal system of dealing with drunkenness, and till then we should be thankful, in the truest kindness towards the poor victims of our facilities and habits of drinking, for the lesser advantage to be gained by an increase in the maximum of imprisonment. Of course,

as some of the answerers classed as "doubtful" point out, "the prison does not give the *best* opportunities for physical improvement," and even "an amended system of prison discipline for the inebriate" may be desirable, but as the whole loaf of State Retreats is not immediately probable, we dare not, seeing the present ruin, refuse the half loaf of a cumulative increase of imprisonment which, as the great majority of those who are obliged to be experts in the matter affirm, would be a certain advantage physically, therefore, probably, of concomitant moral advantage, and most probably a decided deterrent and preventive of the evil. Mr. Rathbone, in giving evidence before the Lords' Committee on Intemperance, says that the Liverpool and Gloucester magistrates have recommended some form of cumulative punishment, as unless imprisonment is long enough to enable a change of morals and habits to be formed, it is a useless expense to the public, and besides it is often necessary to change a constitutional tendency to drunkenness. Mr. Chamberlain, M.P., also deposed that the experienced governor of Birmingham gaol told him he knew of no advantage from the infliction of very short imprisonments, and that he was convinced that if a drunkard were to be reclaimed it would only be by lengthened imprisonment.

Two answers point to an additional advantage gained from a moral and social point of view by a larger imprisonment or removal from the opportunity of intemperance, and that is that for awhile at any rate an evil example is suppressed and removed from the family or neighbourhood.

4. The fourth question was whether, after a certain amount of convictions (say twenty) any fine should be allowed. One gentleman cautiously answers that "There

may arise cases where it would be desirable," and three respondents would leave the matter entirely in the hands of the magistrates ; but the practically unanimous answer is a decided No ! Many, indeed, think that the suggested limit of convictions is far too high, that no fine should be allowed after at any rate the tenth conviction, or even, as some say, the fifth, sixth, or third ; and others would fix also a limit of time, as well as that of convictions, desiring that no option of a fine should be given for the second conviction in six months, or that a year's sobriety in freedom should cancel the second of previous convictions. It is pointed out by those that oppose as futile and even cruel the present system of perpetual fines or short sentences, that fines are no real punishment, and certainly no deterrent to the comparatively wealthy offender, and thereby sustain one law for the rich and another for the poor ; secondly, that in certain districts, the fellow-workmen club together to pay the fines of their mates, and thereby drunkenness is rather encouraged than the contrary ; and thirdly, and chiefly, many point out that the burden is made to fall on innocent shoulders, while the offenders escape the personal punishment which might impress and reform them, which, at any rate, they deserve. Fines might still remain as "merciful considerations" towards first or infrequent offenders, but their present frequency is a mockery to some offenders and a burden to many that are innocent. An instance is known to me in which an artizan paid five fines in four weeks for his wife, who had been in prison innumerable times during eight years. On the next occasion of his being summoned from his work to pay her fine he found he was  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  short in the amount. "Oh, never mind," said the inspector, "as you are a regular customer : she'll be

in again to-morrow!" A brother prison chaplain lately told me of a London woman who had been not a week out of prison for the last two years, and in seven years had been charged 273 times, while her husband had paid fines in lieu of imprisonment to the amount of £180. What advantage to any person, what to the State, can accrue from such a state of affairs? What righteousness in crippling the husband or stripping the wife of the drunkard while the offender escapes? As one chaplain of wide experience remarks, "I think a fine for drunkenness undesirable under any circumstances. The shifts and sufferings a man's family are often put to in order to raise the money are almost beyond belief. Being himself greatly destitute of self-respect and natural affection, he argues that what has been done once may be easily done again and again to set him free; and he looks upon the parting with furniture and clothing as a duty owed to him of right, to be performed unhesitatingly whenever he sees fit to demand it of those he professes to regard as his dependents." And a London police magistrate writes: "I should say that after twenty convictions the case might well be considered hopeless, and that even imprisonment without the option of a fine would have no effect upon the individual."

5. Connected obviously with this question is the fifth, as to the working and desirability of distraint in lieu of fine for drunkenness. The Summary Jurisdiction Act (1880) had not perhaps been long enough in operation, or been much used, except in certain large centres, and therefore opinions as to its benefit or demerit could hardly be based on certain experience; but on *à priori* principles it seems but to further the selfish powers of the offender to strip the home which legally belongs to him,

though morally to others as well, in order that he may avoid the consequences of his fault. A wild distrust of the justice of law must arise in a poor woman's mind who sees the home, already bare enough, stripped by an officer of the court because her husband will get drunk. It is difficult to imagine what was in the minds of those who framed or passed this clause of the Act, and what advantage it was supposed to bring further than that of, in a few instances, relieving the too populous prisons. The chief points urged by those who answer this question are as follow: 1. That the effect of the Act has hardly or not widely come under their cognisance. Thus the clerk to the Justices of Plymouth says: "The new law has had no effect here, as no distresses have been issued for non-payment of fines." 2. That "It is unjust, for between the pawnbroker and the magistrate little would be left in the drunkard's home; a distraint is always a clumsy and unequal expedient." And again, "To avoid distraint, recourse will be had to borrowing or dishonesty, and a miserable home be made more so," "Hard on families, and useless as a deterrent," "Would break up the home which, perhaps, could not be recovered." And (3) it is said that "Any measure which diminishes the opportunities of keeping the drunkard from the drink cannot have a beneficial tendency."

May it not, therefore, be concluded from a review of the answers to all these questions, given by those who are officially obliged to be experts in the matter, that none can or should be content with the existing state of the law with regard to the punishment of intemperance? Common sense, medical science, experience, the admissions of prisoners, the report of a Select Committee of Parliament, all declare that the present system is futile,

inadequate, and inoperative, either as a deterrent, or a remedial measure. Bad laws are always evils, but may become less noxious by reason of the paucity of subjects on which to operate. That this is the case is, however, unfortunately and notoriously not the case. Who will think on these things? And who, despising the fallacious clamour of harshness with which the advocate of increased stringency will inevitably be met, will in the truest kindness and most efficacious philanthropy, by an alteration in the existing laws save the poor victims from themselves, and strengthen the hands of those whose labours to save them are frustrated in so many points by the existing state of the law?

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## WORKHOUSE OR PRISON?

IN no department of philanthropic effort have such vast or such rapid strides been made towards perfection as in that of prison reform. A glance into the record of Howard's investigations makes it difficult to believe that little more than a century has elapsed since the state of affairs there described was prevalent and yet unknown to the public. Thirty shillings paid for being taken into custody ; two women ordered to lie with another female prisoner who had the small-pox, and paying 2s. 6d. each per week for such lodging ; no window or opening save the door in cells ; a city prison (Lichfield) consisting of two cells 6½ feet by 5½ ; debtors, padlocked by the leg, vending prison-made wares outside the walls ; cells with no water, sewer, or chimney ; damp earth floors, and the Bridewell

the only London prison which provided any straw or bedding; prisoners chained on the floor with an iron spiked collar about their necks and a heavy iron bar over their legs, simply because the prison was unsafe. Such practices and such barbarities seem simply inconceivable to any who have ever visited, voluntarily or otherwise, our prisons of to-day, though our fathers may have known these things and even thought them inevitable. One instance will forcibly illustrate the advance from a sanitary point of view. Howard's writings are full of the word "gaol-fever;" he records how many fall victims to this even before trial; how governors, prison-doctors,—nay, judges on the bench—succumb to the miasma bred in the dungeons and lingering in the clothes of prisoners. Now gaol-fever is still to be found under its modern name of typhus, but not in gaols, and the Medical Inspector of Prisons says: "There was no case of typhus fever in any prison during the year under report, and the occurrence of such a case in prison is so rare as to be phenomenal." It may, in fact, be now asserted with justice that the most tender and sympathetic visitor, or the most cantankerous and pragmatical prisoner, would find it most difficult, if not impossible, to point to any real abuse to be abolished or reasonable indulgence to be granted. "The horrors of prison" are now metaphysical rather than physical, arising from internal remorse or anxiety, and not from external and unnecessary causes. Yet prison is prison after all, and though cruelty, actual or constructive, is not to be found in regulations or practice, yet neither is there any pampering of prisoners or indulgences attractive to those yet free.

It is, however, disappointing and saddening to those who desire that justice and mercy should obtain in the



ruling of all institutions, and that prisons alone should be penal and deterrent in their character, to find that amongst those who are in a position, often by personal experience, to compare the merits or demerits of the prison and the workhouse, many not unfrequently, and not without reason, prefer the former to the latter. Workhouses are, of course, largely peopled by those whose want of thrift or temperance has been such as to render them criminal to a certain extent and injurious to the State. But yet also it is true that many of the inmates are in no sense reprehensible; and that they should have the least possibility of contrasting unfavourably their position or treatment with that found in prisons is, of course, a circumstance easier to regret than to justify. Any one who knows the effect a hard winter must have on the labouring classes, in London at any rate, will know that at such times hundreds will perforce accept the shelter of the "house" by their misfortune and not by their fault, and that the fare or treatment of such should be inferior to that given to Bill Sykes is obviously neither desirable nor just. Yet if we take, not simply the affirmations of prisoners or paupers, or those who have been both at different times, but also the evidence of printed documents issued by Government, we shall find that the comparison is justified in some not unimportant particulars. As the author of "*Female Life in Prison*" observes of her practical experience as a matron: "Amidst the mass of our fallen sisters in prison there are these strange practical philosophers—women who have weighed all the chances between the workhouse and the prison, and who, being compelled to choose between one and the other, strike the balance in favour of the gaol. A little less liberty, but more kindness

and attention ; better food and more friendly faces—only the key turned upon them, and their sleeping chamber called a cell !” It may be inevitable that association, which has been abolished in local, and minimized in convict, prisons, should yet remain in workhouses, though its evils are in many cases patent ; or that the system of wardsmen, or prisoners in authority over prisoners, which was found to lead to much tyranny and neglect and many abuses, should be continued in workhouses ; but it is not obvious why a pauper may be committed to hard labour in a prison for not completing the allotted task of picking four pounds of oakum and then find that a much less amount is required from her as the prison task. One point, however, which most presses upon such classes, and enters most largely into their comparative comfort or discomfort, is that of their dietary. Luxuries and abundance are not to be looked for in either place, but yet it is in a prison alone that we might expect to find, or advocate as desirable, a punitive and deterrent fare. What, however, is actually the case may be seen by a comparison of the dietary for convicted prisoners authorized by the Home Office, and that for able-bodied paupers authorized by the Local Government Board. The arrangements and constituents of these bills of fare are so similar in nearly every particular that it is obvious that they have not been arrived at independently. Let us imagine that Bill Sykes, an athletic criminal, has been sentenced to hard labour for any period between four months and two years, and that his innocent and unoffending brother, Thomas Sykes, through stress of weather or depression in trade, has been obliged to go into the workhouse as a pauper described technically as able-bodied, though by natural physique or the effects of short work and scanty

fare he would hardly be considered able-bodied by any employer. Tom's breakfast will be unvaryingly  $1\frac{1}{4}$  pints of porridge and 5 ounces of bread; Bill will have half a pint less milk, but 3 ounces more of bread. Tom's dinner on meat days will consist of 5 ounces of meat and 12 ounces of potatoes; Bill will have the same amount of potatoes, 1 ounce less of meat, but 8 ounces of bread in addition. On soup days the workhouse will provide  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pints of soup and 3 ounces of bread, while the prison allowance will be three quarters of a pint of soup, 8 ounces of potatoes, and 8 ounces of bread. It may be noted also that the quality of the meat and soup in prison is excellent, and said to be much superior to that in the workhouse. We need not pursue the details of the dietary further, but simply show that in the matter of solids (bread, potatoes, meat, and pudding) the convicted criminal receives in the week 260 ounces and the pauper but 166 ounces. With regard to other articles of diet (porridge, soup, and meat broth) the advantage is on the side of the pauper, who receives 24 pints against  $16\frac{1}{4}$  pints given to the prisoner. But as, after all, the bread is the chief staple of diet, it is well to notice that the prisoner receives of good wholemeal bread 164 ounces a week, and the pauper but 84 ounces, and that of a less sustaining kind. This matter of the dietary, then, presents a substantial difference and forms a substantial grievance. Other differences of treatment may be more or less sentimental or inevitable; this, however, is tangible, and perhaps hardly to be justified on the grounds of either reason or necessity. Might not a comparative inquiry be instituted which would ascertain whether it is desirable that any justification should exist for the undeniable and unpleasant fact that many, even

whole classes, are brought to consider that from several points of view the prison is preferable to the workhouse? Both institutions must unhappily exist; but that they should be, or even be considered, very similar institutions, and still more that the deterrent idea should be connected by any chiefly with the workhouse, is not of obvious advantage or necessity.

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### PREMATURE MARRIAGES.

I WAS right glad to see in a number of "Eastward-Ho!" that a Home Missioner drew attention to what all who have lived and worked amongst the poor, especially in East London, know to be a fertile and increasing cause of misery and even crime: I mean premature marriage amongst those who are not in any way fitted to become housekeepers or parents. He used, *per incuriam*, the phrase "early marriages," which alone I dissent from in his paper, as they are by no means the same as the premature marriages we both so strongly deprecate. Early marriage is no doubt of great physical and moral advantage for the majority; but premature marriage is an equal bane. That a lad or lass should be led to see the perfect possibility of marriage at the age of say twenty-one, and should be in every way taught and helped to prepare for such a possibility by self-reverence and habits of thrift and industry, would be well for most, but this is unfortunately as rare as its blighting shadow or parody is common. How common, perhaps few realize. To look beyond our little, yet vast, "Oriental" world, the returns of

the Registrar-General show that the average number of marriages in England and Wales wherein the "man" is under 21 is about 43 in 1,000, while about 135 "women" out of the same number are legally—and often in other ways—infants. The figures vary strangely according to the circumstances of various counties: thus, Bedfordshire shows 109 males and 235 females per thousand who are married under age, and Huntingdon 99 males and 236 females; while the juvenile bridegrooms in Middlesex, Hereford, and Surrey, are respectively 18, 17, and 16 per thousand, and the brides in Hereford and North Wales, 79 and 77. Two points must here be noted, however: that in the rural districts, where marriages under age are common, employment is more steady, and the age is higher than in London or industrial centres; and that though the average for Middlesex is low, this would by no means be found to be the case if East (or South-East) London were taken by itself. And one must unhappily take as an additional illustrative fact the undoubted and appalling increase of juvenile immorality. Girls of ten years old now know in certain districts and classes what their mothers only knew when they were thirty, and their grandmothers knew not at all.

And what are the results of such precocious unions? In many cases disunion, separation, adultery, profligacy, following in rapid course upon the childish quarrel or discontent with the hardships brought by the first season of slackness of work or of illness. Let me give a few illustrations from my recent experience. Here is a young woman aged twenty-five who had her first child before she was fifteen, married only after the birth of her third, and now is separated from her husband, and likely to sink into the depths of misery and shame, while her

children are thankfully seen to pine away into premature death, or are regarded merely as a burden to her in whom maternal instincts have not been matured by natural and healthy growth and education. Here is another girl who was married when she was sixteen, and became a mother too shortly for her fame, and was separated from her husband in a year. What will have become of them if we discover them ten years hence? Another was married when sixteen to a husband aged seventeen, only to leave him after eighteen months, when the first pleasurable excitement of independence had faded away. Here is a young man who married at eighteen, and has been twice in prison for deserting his wife and family before he is twenty-one; the mere coming together which was the sorry substitute for a union worthy of the name being now changed into a hated responsibility which the law enforces—when it can catch the man. And here is a pair who married when they were seventeen and sixteen respectively, but separated by consent in a year, though a child had been born to them.

For some time I noted down the particulars of all cases of premature marriage that came under my notice in prison, and, taking 176 cases thus recorded, I found that in one case the husband had been fourteen years old (subsequently apprehended for trigamy when thirty-four), and in eleven cases the child-wife was of this tender age. In two cases the husband, and in twelve the wife, was fifteen; and in one case both were of that age. In twelve cases the husband, in forty-six the wife, and in three cases both, were sixteen. Twenty-seven husbands and forty-eight wives were seventeen when they entered into that relation, and in thirteen cases both of the newly-wedded pair boasted of that age. These were nearly all cases that

had occurred in London, and in a majority of instances the married belonged to such occupations as costermongers and factory hands.

That disunion, desertion, and the consequent bigamy or adultery of one or both of the parties to these ill-advised unions follow, in innumerable cases, goes without saying. Let me rather trace the effects of early marriage as a cause of the grievous infantile mortality which out-Herods Herod in all our densely populated parishes. It is calculated that so many dangers surround the first twelve months of life, and so much is infant life dependent on the care and devotion and skill and wisdom of mothers, that even in the upper classes eight in a hundred die in their first year; while amongst the less comfortable classes the number is quadrupled. When, however, we strike on lower strata of society, especially where the parents are intemperate, or the mother has to work long hours under bad sanitary conditions, the mortality is nearer 64 than 32 per 100. I have long kept notes on this point, and it is demonstrable that alcoholic infanticide, as the mortality amongst the infants of the intemperate may fairly be called, accounts for more deaths than all other causes of preventable mortality put together. Let me take the first cases I find in my note-books. A man aged 36, a drunkard, has had eight children, seven of whom died in their infancy. A woman aged 41, who claims to be temperate now, but admits the contrary in the past, and has a drunken husband, has had eighteen children, of whom four are alive, and one of them is in an asylum. A woman aged 31, a hard drinker and frequent prisoner, has had nine children "all dead, thank God!" A woman aged 44, whose husband died of paralysis of the brain from "a gay life," is herself a hard drinker, and has one

of her twelve children living. And so one might go on *ad infinitum*, but it is more to my present purpose to show how in cases where I did not detect intemperance as a cause of infantile mortality, the premature marriage, the concomitant circumstances which nearly always are found in this connection, have accounted for the massacre of the innocents. Again I take the cases just as they come, and will now select the first ten, without knowing at present what result I shall find. They are these. Marriage at 20 and 16, seven children dead out of twelve. Marriage at 17 and 18, eleven children dead out of fourteen, and the father is only 32 now. Woman 31, seven children, all dead—none lived more than three months; married when seventeen. Woman 33, married at 16, six out of thirteen children dead. Woman 32, married at 16, half her twelve children are dead. Woman 24, married at 16, her husband being 18, two of five children are alive. Woman 35, married before 18 to a young man six months older, has had eleven children, whereof two are alive and the rest died soon after birth. Woman 39, eight out of thirteen alive, married at 16. A pair began concubinage when 18 and 16 years old, have had thirteen children, whereof five are alive. Woman 23, married at 14½ years, five children, all dead. When I paid most attention to the question of infant mortality amongst the poor and those who came under my notice in prison, I did not at first note in the majority of cases the ages of the parents at marriage, but the above are by no means very exceptional cases.

One can observe facts and collate instances: one discovers without much inquiry or ratiocination certain causes for the phenomena; but the chief point is, of course, to find out whether there are not some causes



at any rate that may be prevented, without more trouble than all should be ready to take. Unfortunately, the law gives power neither to clergymen nor to registrars to prevent or delay such improvident and almost unnatural alliances when the consent of parents or guardians is given; but it is more than doubtful whether any steps are taken in the majority of cases to ascertain whether such consent has been really accorded. In our overgrown town parishes, where frequently a list of fifty banns of marriage is gabbled over on a Sunday morning, the clergy in most instances claim that the great number of marriages absolves them from responsibility of inquiry, though this plea is more readily made than justified. And the greater privacy of the registrar's office, where notices of marriage may be stuck up on a door inside a lawyer's office, as I have seen them, and the absence on the part of the registrar of that quasi-parental position and feeling which may be presumed as part of the clerical office and duty, leads to the same evil end. Moreover, it is perfectly well known that where the parents' consent is given, it is accorded in order to gloss over the shame of the consequences of juvenile immorality in very many cases.

Much domestic misery, practical infanticide, and not a few crimes, would be prevented, if only the pastoral visitation of the clergy were extended as a matter of course to those who had given notice of an intention to avail themselves, at a momentous period of their lives, of the offices of the Church. If this work is neglected, if this obvious opportunity for paying a not unwelcome visit to the homes of the people is not grasped, what other kind of pastoral visitation is likely to be thoroughly done? Imprudent marriages may be allowed by impru-

dent parents: but might not a word of friendly counsel at the visit paid after the banns had been sent in bring the wisdom of delay? Nay, in many cases, would not such a visit inform the parents of what they never suspected their silly or wilful children intended? Surely in some large London parishes it would not be impossible—it certainly would be productive of much good if only in the prevention of evil—for a curate or lay-worker to have the entire charge of this kind of work, to limit his pastoral visitation to those homes from which a marriage was about to take place, to follow up the newly-married, and it may be to find remuneration almost equal to an ordinary stipend, from being the recipient of marriage fees and offerings? There are several well-worked London parishes in which almost the sole work of one of the assistant clergy is to look after the wants of the Temperance Society: might not another worker be known as the Marriage-Curate?

And again, in the ordinary work of the clergy, the teacher, and the moral instructor, why is there not far more, and far more definite, instruction given to the young as to what marriage is and should be? Let mothers' meetings and men's Bible classes be more frequently addressed on the sanctity of marriage and the duty of parents to their adolescent children, and then we shall not have so much crying over spilt milk. Let our boys and girls in our schools, classes, Sunday-schools, guilds, and Bands of Hope be taught more frequently and definitely the laws of courtesy and modesty; let them be prepared for a happy marriage by having learned betimes the solemnity and responsibility of the relations thus entered upon; let them—I would almost say, above all—be taught how alone such subjects can rightly be

spoken of, and then we shall be rearing up a generation that will escape, or rather prevent by prudence, modesty, and zeal, and solid love, the dangers and miseries which now surround us from our sins of omission in this respect. Till teachers of all kinds are more alive to their duties to something besides the minds and souls of their pupils, till parents are less unfitted by heredity and domestic example and training to give the right kind of care at the right time and in the right way, I fear that in some districts the cry must be the almost despairing one—

*Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit  
Nos nequiores mox daturos  
Progeniem vitiosiore.*

\* \* \* \* \*

### *ATHEISM IN PRISON.*

CLERGYMEN and others who are, or are supposed to be, in a favourable position for the observation and classification of the spiritual, intellectual, and social variations found in classes that come specially under their notice, are often asked what evidence they perceive of the alleged increase of the profession of atheism amongst the working classes and the poor. And they do not find it easy or justifiable to give a very definite answer from the difficulty of distinguishing between speculative and practical atheism, between the state of life and thought which is simply un-Christian and that which is consciously anti-Christian. On the one hand, they read and hear the large claims made by secularists as to the acceptance of their doctrines by increasing masses of people; on the other, they

find by actual observation of the capacity of the various secularist halls, and of the attendance therein, that not a few congregations in parish churches in different parts of London would singly equal or outnumber the aggregate of these gatherings of "freethinkers." And though in every parish there might be found a few atheists earnest and consistent in their creed and its propagation, yet again it is as easy to find by personal intercourse that many who attend these halls do so from curiosity or the love of mere variety, without having any intention of formally breaking from Christianity. In times of ease and health the superior glibness of the secularist orator, and the greater attraction possessed to many by a platform that is destructive and denunciatory, create and increase an audience the units of which largely fall back into the old paths in the presence of distress of any kind. Again, it is as politicians, popular because democratic, partly upholding undoubted rights, and partly pandering to the prejudices and somewhat unpracticable aspirations of less educated and therefore less balanced minds, that many noted secularists are famous and followed even by many to whom some of their doctrines at any rate are repugnant—a fact which is especially noticeable now, when the inexhaustible spirit of chivalry ever found in the masses is touched by the impression that certain leaders of "freethought" are being persecuted through fear or jealousy by those classes which are separated as by an impassable gulf from the myriads of the lower ranks of society—an impression not, perhaps, entirely unjustified, and readily utilized for his own or mere class purposes by the would-be demagogue and champion of popular rights.

These considerations, trite enough to any who have

lived amongst the labouring classes and the poor (unfortunately almost synonymous terms), would indicate that those best able to form an opinion would be least ready in expressing one as to the prevalence or increase of real and active unbelief, and also that a religious census would not decide the moot question, as while very many would describe themselves as belonging, *e.g.*, to the Church of England, without meaning much by that description, many again, from various motives, would say they were of no religion, who yet would disclaim their open or permanent attachment to atheism, or to any secularist congregation or society. Little value it would seem, therefore, can be attached to what must be vague estimates on one side or the other.

There is one line of inquiry that is frequently adopted as a means of approaching an estimate as to the volume of various religious bodies that may, perhaps, continue to be of interest, though not of much conclusive force. Take, it is said, the denominational registers of our army and navy, or of our workhouses and prisons, as affording a rough idea of the proportion various sects or bodies bear to the general population. But here the objection is fair enough that "Church of England" in the mouths of many simply means *not* Roman Catholic or *not* Jew, though little stress need be laid on the somewhat mean gibe of John Bright, that the Church of England can no doubt claim the adherence of and the responsibility for the vast majority of our paupers and criminals. Following this line of investigation, the conclusions would no doubt be arrived at that professed atheism was extremely rare, or, from another point of view, that atheists eschewed the army and navy as professions, and never became criminals or paupers; and in the result neither conclusion would

probably impress as being conclusive any save controversialists, who have no intention of altering the position they imagine these statistics to support. The inquiry is, however, often made of those who labour amongst and for our criminals, or those in prison (the classes are not identical), what evidence do you note of the existence of professed or speculative infidelity amongst those who come under your temporary care? As each one is asked on entrance, to ensure his liberty of conscience, what religion he professes, how many declare themselves atheists? Such questions are not irrelevant, nor should the answers be considered to be valueless so long as too much stress is not laid upon them. A difficulty arises, however, in giving any answer, from the fact that denominational registers are not now kept, and that therefore only by private and voluntary inquiry can any conclusion be gained. Before the uniformity introduced by the last Prison Act, such registers were kept in most county prisons; and figures gathered from three large Metropolitan prisons are now before me, the year being 1878. In the case of Clerkenwell there were 8,932 admissions, of which 7,298 were Church of England, 1,395 Roman Catholic, 100 Dissenters, 43 Presbyterians, 75 Jews, and only 21 are grouped under the head "others," which would include, with those who called themselves atheists or of no religion, an occasional Mahomedan, Confucian, or Mormon. Coldbath Fields had 12,953 admissions, 9,744 being Church of England, 2,882 Roman Catholics, 160 Dissenters, 69 Presbyterians, 66 Jews and other non-Christians (chiefly, and probably entirely, Orientals), and 32 who described themselves as of no religion. Into Wandsworth there came 6,472, of whom 5,297 were Church of England, 1,006 Roman Catholic, 155 Dis-

senters, 9 Jews, and 4 under the head of "others." It is noticeable that no female is included under the head of "others" or "no religion."

Thus out of 28,351 admissions into these three Metropolitan prisons, the column in which those are counted who described themselves as atheists contains only 57, a number which must further be reduced, as in the cases of two out of the three prisons other non-Christians, such as Chinese, Lascar, or Mahommedan sailors or beggars are reckoned in this category.

It is, perhaps, necessary to say that a profession of atheism would deprive no prisoner of any advantage or privilege that others might gain: they would not be, except by their own free choice, excluded from the use of the prison library or attendance at the daily services in chapel, which afford so welcome a relief from the various isolations of the prison cell that old hands who are really Romanists constantly come in as Church of England, that their opportunities of leaving their cell for chapel may be daily instead of bi- or tri-weekly.

These figures, therefore, are worthy of note, but could readily be used extravagantly and erroneously by either the Christian or the secularist advocate.

I now give the results of what I found when I determined to keep notes of the first twelve consecutive cases of those who on entrance described themselves either positively as atheists, or negatively as of no religion; and the following results may not be devoid of interest, from various points of view, though they would hardly support any of the current preconceived theories as to the prevalence or causes of atheism. I do so, not as an advocate of any view, save perhaps that a religious census would always be misleading, as affording every sect or denomi-

nation an opportunity for claiming far more adherents than it really possessed. I write not as a Christian, but simply as a student of psychology, and one who has daily access to a volume of the encyclopædia of human nature of which most others know but the binding.

1. The first whom I met, after determining on a special annotation of this class, was a painter, who pleaded guilty to a charge of theft, a married man with six children. He had been taken by a friend to the Hall of Science, and afterwards attended there voluntarily and pretty regularly. He had, however, been married in church. He was a somewhat ignorant man, with little grasp of his position. The causes of his profession of infidelity, he said, were, firstly, that when young his parents had "crammed religion down his throat;" and secondly, that which he had been taught to consider as an inexpugnable position, the thesis "The Bible is contradictory, and the Bible is religion, what is there therefore if the Bible is untrue?" His case was typical of many others in different ranks of society who have suffered in youth from the stern repression of Calvinism or Puritanism, and from the deleterious idea amongst some sects of the necessity to each child of conscious conversion from a state which otherwise would be hopeless. And the remarkable dictum of Chillingworth, that the Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants, coupled with the grotesque idea of the verbal inspiration of the English version, is notoriously and naturally the parent of much scepticism which would be meritorious if its premisses were true. When Colonel R. Ingersoll, the American Secularist writer, says, "It will not do to say that the Bible is not verbally inspired. If the words are not inspired, what is?" he puts into the mouths of



Christians a definition of inspiration which, as has been well pointed out, is utterly repudiated by Scripture, by historical testimony, by the greatest living theologians, and by the vast majority, if not the whole, of the educated Christian ministers in the world, and the hearers or readers of secularist lectures will not be usually so slow as this painter was to detect the rottenness of the foundation of the argument. Were the choice between Secularism and Bibliolatry, there would be much to be said in favour of adopting the former; but then it is not.

2. Next came an ex-soldier, who having had in India a sunstroke, which is not unfrequently a euphemism for a drink-stroke, had become a heavy drinker, and several times had been in prison for attempting suicide, besides having had five years penal servitude for manslaughter, it was said, of his father. He was simply a drunken heathen, and when I asked him what was in his mind, when he described himself as an atheist on entrance, he said he only called himself mad. A dipsomaniac he certainly was, and then consumed with the alcoholic craving. He had been confined in Hanwell, and when he came in again some months hence for attempting suicide, he was sent as insane to the workhouse, and as far as I know has not yet regained his liberty to destroy himself. Yet when in default of sureties for good behaviour he had been kept in compulsory total abstinence for a few months, he was quiet and intelligent enough, nor devoid of some sense of shame and penitence.

3. The third case was a canvasser, who admitted the charge of burglary that was brought against him. His atheism was practical, no doubt, but not theoretical; he said he meant only that he never attended church or

chapel, giving as his reason that he had seen so much hypocrisy amongst professing Christians; but a few days after admission he became more sensible, as the excitement incident to his apprehension passed away, and he had no desire to retain the designation of atheist.

4. A Frenchman, twice convicted of fraud, a thorough swindler, and a proved liar of much inventiveness, came next. He had been a Roman Catholic, and lived now chiefly by defrauding Roman priests. His chief creed was that everything came from electricity, and could one have placed any reliance on his words or actions, one would have considered him insane, as he apparently wished to be thought.

5. The next was a lad in for desertion from the army, and the account he gave of himself was, that his father, who "every minute was drinking," and had died of drink, had been "a follower of Bradlaugh," attending the Hall of Science, though his mother was a Christian and attended church. He had been sent to Feltham Industrial School, and thence had enlisted. He had read all Bradlaugh's tracts and tried Paine's "Age of Reason," but found it too dry, which was not surprising, as the lad (he was nineteen) had very little intellect.

6. A German Jew got six months for assaulting his wife, and described himself as of no religion, because he had not adhered to his ancestral religion, but had usually frequented Christian chapels, especially at Embassies on the Continent. He had not, however, been baptized, and therefore being neither Jew by profession and practice, nor Christian by initiation, had not known how to describe himself.

7. A certificated schoolmaster had lost his place and character through intemperance, and was now charged

with deserting his family. He was despairing from the want of work, and the improbability of regaining his old position, and his declaration at entrance had only meant that he had ceased to attend public worship, under the consciousness that most of his religion had been merely formal, while the habit of intemperance had been gradually enslaving him; it was, in fact, not unlike the cry of the penitent prodigal, "I am no more worthy to be called Thy son," and as such was rather the voice of Christianity than of infidelity.

8. A conceited and bad-tempered lad of seventeen, the discarded, or probably illegitimate, son of a medical man, got three months in default of bail for assaulting his guardian. He had been a page to a notorious spiritualist medium, who a little before or a little after (I forget which) found her way to the same prison, and had "learned all the tricks." He had been to the Hall of Science, and for some months had professed atheism. He had partly adopted infidelity to enable him the better to justify to himself the spirit of murderous revenge with which he was animated; but otherwise he was an example of a common type, in which conceit leads to the despising of Christianity as the shortest way to the assertion of superiority over teachers or elders.

9. A young man who had been brought up in a South London parish school, under High Church influences, but was taken too much notice of when he began to pick up and retail, simply out of conceit and bravado, some of the elementary objections to revelation. Had a remarkable glibness of speech, whereby he had become a secularist lecturer in various London halls and clubs; but "doubted the advisability of spreading Secularism while it was so misunderstood by the masses." He got

eighteen months for robbing his employer in conjunction with others.

10. A pitiable wreck of a woman, a prostitute and a dipsomaniac, with over one hundred and fifty convictions for being drunk and disorderly, though only twenty-seven years old. Many have tried in varied ways to befriend and rescue her, and she has occasionally done well for a short time in a Home. Not a theoretical atheist, but usually calls herself such when she is in a bad temper or not sober.

11. A young baker, dragged up in a London district school as a pauper orphan. He lost his savings, and being much upset thereby, took poison. He said he was half stupid from the effects of the laudanum when he described himself at entrance as of no religion. He had once been taken by a friend to an atheist meeting, but did not like it, and goes regularly to a Congregational chapel.

12. A diminutive girl, aged 15, who had stolen from her parents' lodger. These parents were heathen as regards practice; the father drank much, and the mother had turned her elder sister out on to the streets. The child was intelligent, and had passed the Fifth Standard; had disowned any profession of religion, because she rarely, if ever, attended any place of worship, her only conscious connection with religion being the knowledge of the Lord's Prayer.

These facts and examples will hardly be useful to any who come to them with fixed prejudices or theories, but may serve to demonstrate that the profession of atheism is by no means common amongst those classes where many would expect to find it, and that even where the profession is made, it does not follow that it is always an

evidence of the intelligent, or determinate adhesion to such principles. The description given voluntarily and spontaneously on entering a prison would equally be given to a census officer, with the result that statistics would be misleading, and apparently prove that the absence or repudiation of any religious profession was more common than it really is.

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### *OUR CHILDREN AND OUR PRISONS.*

THE idea, and still more the sight, of a child in a prison, would awaken in all a sense of incongruity and of pity, and in many a feeling of indignation. The words, "These poor sheep, what have they done?" come into the mind of those who have daily intercourse with prisoners as they learn to make more allowance for the terrible forces of heredity and early environment. "Teach wrong-doers to make less excuses for themselves, but be more ready to find excuses for them yourself," would be a useful maxim for all who try to lift the fallen or to strengthen the weak. "My God, look there!" was the natural and virtuous exclamation that burst from the lips, nay, from the heart, of a rough, convict woman on seeing a girl, aged only 14, entering Milbank, in the bad days that are not so old, sentenced to penal servitude; the anticipation by many years of the advance of public opinion in the direction of humanity that would depopulate the prisons in one way by sending juvenile offenders to reformatories, and in another way by cutting off the supplies of crime by the industrial schools and other

efforts for the waifs and strays who would naturally drift into pauperism and crime. In my report to the Middlesex Magistrates for 1876-7, occurs the passage, "And here the chaplain, in noticing that 190 prisoners in the House of Detention (184 being males) have been under 12 years of age, and 697 in addition under 16, must express his great regret at being called upon to minister to infants of seven years old, who might well be remanded to a workhouse, where they would not be in solitary confinement, and would not be likely to abscond even if sent home for a week." Babies are inevitably born in prison, and some, as sucklings, cannot be separated from their mothers on remand, or awaiting trial—I have baptized 40 in a year in prison—but it does seem monstrous that 20 years ago the children of convict mothers were as a rule kept in prison for two years before they were sent to friends or the workhouse; and the next change was to keep them till the expiration of their mother's sentence, whereby the matron who wrote (in 1863) "*Female Life in Prison*," mentions the cases of children who had remained many years in prison, and says, "One child, named Annie, who was not born in the prison, but for some particular reason arrived afterwards, remained with her mother till she reached the age of six years." Well may she observe, "They are a delicate class of children—the prison air is not the best atmosphere for infants"—and again, "It is a dull, unnatural life for these little ones." Now we may take it for something certain that a child in prison gets more harm and less good than an adult. Both are guarded, unless convicts, from contamination by association, but a child's first imprisonment reveals to him, in many cases, the fact that his food is better, his bedding better, his treat-

ment more civil than that to which he has been accustomed, and he goes out less, instead of more deterred from wrong-doing by the fear of prison, more inclined even to imprisonment than an adult would be. I have found that a boy who has neither been birched nor imprisoned will prefer the former if he has the choice ; a boy who has experience of both will prefer prison. A pregnant fact ! Therefore it becomes all the more necessary in the view of the future to decrease the number of juveniles in prison, which is best done by taking them in time before their peccadilloes can be elevated into the rank of crimes.

Happily, but tardily, an alteration came by which a prison start in life was rendered impossible for children of very tender years ; and further, in the last few years, Sir W. Harcourt, when Home Secretary, issued an order whereby notice must at once be given if any child under 12 is in any way, and for any cause, received into a prison, so that any injustice on the part of a committing justice may at once be remedied. Partly from this cause very few of quite tender years are now found in prison. In 1885-6 only 229 males and 21 females under the age of 12 were committed to the prisons of England and Wales, and the number of those between 12 and 16 had come down to 4,563, whereas in 1880-1 the corresponding numbers were 528 and 5,579 ; in 1878 there were in the prisons 927 children under 12, besides 3,000 under 14, and 3,246 under 16, making 7,173 in all, and in 1868 the number was 10,000. Hepworth Dixon, in his "The London Prisons," wrote in 1850, "Often have we seen children in gaol between the ages of six and ten years—children whom it would be absurd to hold responsible for their own acts." Nor need we go to the last century for

the fact, infinitely more discreditable to the rulers than the ruled, that in 1816, when the population of London was under a million and a half, there were in London prisons alone above 3,000 inmates under 20 years of age, half of these being under 17, and some but nine or ten. If such become habitual criminals, what are their acts but State-created crime? "I was born in prison, and I expect to die in prison," said a man to me in Clerkenwell. Unhappy was his lot to be born of a drunken and criminal mother, but it is possible—it has been common—for the State to have even a greater responsibility for the case of such a man. Had the public only known a century, even half a century, ago, what the Home Office, or Government, was doing or omitting to do, officialdom would have been forced into a semblance of possessing a head and a heart. Even now far too few trouble, or imagine that there may be need for them to inquire into what obtains in prisons or workhouses, and if difficulties are not put in their way when they would know, at any rate the minimum of encouragement is given them to base their responsibility on knowledge.

But now let us look on what is more cheering: the undoubted and increasing decrease in criminality and the population of our prisons. When I was appointed a prison chaplain in 1877 the daily average population of our 113 prisons in England and Wales was 20,361; when my prison was closed in 1886 it was one of 61, with a daily average of 15,375 in spite of the great increase of the general population. And in the Judicial Statistics for 1885-6 the word "decrease" has defeated the word "increase" all along the line. Why is this? Many answers might be given, and many lines of effort for the



common weal might fairly say, "We have helped to produce this decrease." But chiefest of all, undoubtedly, is that referred to in the report of the Prison Commissioners for 1881: "Means for the effective repression of crime are to be sought much more among the agencies for securing a good training of the neglected part of our population in their early years than in any single form of punishment that can be designed." So also Sir E. Du Cane, in his "Punishment and Prevention of Crime," rightly says, "In the downward path which leads to habitual crime the first step is the most important, and to arrest the victim, before he takes it, the most effectual check on his adoption of that career."

In the last 30 or 40 years so much has been done by Church and State and private individuals for children who were friendless, or in peril, that crime and pauperism have either decreased or not increased *pari passu* with the increase of population—from the supplies having been cut off. Industrial Schools and Reformatories, Orphanages, Bands of Hope, improved day and Sunday-schools, have all helped to produce this happy result; and without ignoring or depreciating what has been done previously or is now being done by honourable and valuable individuals or organizations, with or without such aid as more enlightened and humane legislation has afforded, my present purpose is to state briefly what is being attempted and achieved by the Church of England Central Society for Providing Homes for Waifs and Strays. Founded not six years ago, it has so extended its operations and doubled its income each year, that it has become not so much a Church Society as the Church in action for the benefit and rescue of children who are destitute or in peril. It adopts the boarding-out system

for all under seven years of age ; has emigration Homes and a careful system of supervision in Canada for boys and girls whom it sends out ; and in England and Wales has 19 Homes (besides several in prospect), whereof six are certified industrial schools, and three others certified under the Local Government Board, the rest being either Industrial Homes or Cottage Homes—in which the children are attending the school of the village in which they live. One of the certified industrial schools is a farm of 50 acres at Standon, in Staffordshire, and the others are for girls rescued from the companionship of prostitutes under the Industrial Schools Act Amendment Act. There are now (December, 1886) 700 children under the care of the Society, whereof half have been received as absolutely free cases. They come from all parts of England and Wales, the only questions considered on application being the merits of the case and the state of the Society's funds, and applications increase as the Society becomes better known. They may be divided into those that are homeless, those that have bad homes, and those that come from overburdened homes. In the latter case by taking one child of a widow's or widower's family, it often happens that the necessity is avoided of the whole becoming burdens on the rates. Only a small number are placed in each Home, so that the individuality of the child may be preserved, and home instincts developed, and home training given, in a way that is impossible in larger institutions. All the Homes are managed by a careful and influential local committee of ladies and gentlemen, and all the boarded-out children are placed with carefully selected foster-parents under the supervision of some lady or gentleman from whom periodical reports are received. The operations of the Society

reveal the great number of children who, without such care, seem bound to drift into ignorance and vice, pauperism and crime, as also how readily the young life is purified and elevated when wisdom and love work to counteract the forces of hereditary and evil environment in early years.

Who will help to cut off the supplies of pauperism and crime, by enabling the Society to entertain more of the applications it receives? The cost of a child boarded out is about £13 per annum, and of one in a Home £15; and many individuals, schools, and children's services have found it an educative thing for themselves to undertake the payment for some particular child in whom then they have a personal interest. I never found much difficulty, when engaged in prison work, in demonstrating that every ten shillings I was enabled to spend wisely and promptly in helping some discharged prisoner to a fresh start in life, saved some £10, or even £100, of public money, which a relapse into crime or an inevitable lapse into pauperism would entail. Who will help us in a work even more certainly beneficial and economical, by enabling us to divert into a channel of happiness and utility the stream of young life that otherwise will largely go to increase the noxious swamps of pauperism and crime? Any donations thankfully received at the offices of the Society, at 32, Charing Cross, whence reports and fuller information may be received on application.



*SUICIDE.*

IN recording a few facts and figures about the sin and crime of suicide, I shall not attempt even a brief treatise on the general question. I have therefore purposely refrained from consulting such books and papers on the subject as have appeared in this and other countries, being content to give the evidence of one who is, unfortunately, obliged to be somewhat of an expert in the matter, rather than to assume the position of one who generalizes from the evidence of many witnesses from many lands. Especially have I avoided some almost exhaustive treatises on the subject, which have been produced, I believe, by foreign authors, believing that the comparative study of this question would be as fallacious as interesting.

That I have peculiar opportunities for studying the question will be recognized probably by all readers of newspapers from the familiar phrases "remanded for a week to the House of Detention," or "remanded to receive the advice of the prison chaplain," which close the account of the appearance before a police magistrate of some one charged with an attempt at self-murder. I suppose that no one in the world has had similar or as great opportunities of observing the phenomena of this particular crime. Thus in 1880, no less than 341 were brought to her Majesty's Prison, Clerkenwell, on this charge, of whom all but 35, who were Roman Catholics, were commended to and received my special care and attention. To take the decennium 1868-1877, there were 2,053 brought in on this charge, of whom 1,900 were "Church of England," that is, not Romanists, the

yearly number fluctuating from 146 to 258. On one day in 1877 there were 15 women in Clerkenwell for attempting suicide, either on remand or in default of bail. On July 1, 1880, there were 20 women and 7 men on this charge. In July, 1884, 61 were brought in for attempts. It will be seen, therefore, that the material from which I draw such facts, figures, and conclusions as I place before the reader is by no means scanty. Not, however, that these figures represent the entire number of those who attempt this crime, for it will be seen from the Metropolitan Police Return that in the years 1869-78 there were 1,868 suicides in London, and 3,810 attempts known to the police. To these numbers we must, of course, add those cases which are not discovered, being hushed up by friends, or relegated to the categories of Lost or Found Drowned. It is somewhat remarkable that while during a period of three years the number of suicides reported by the police steadily decreased, thus, 310, 240, 174, the number of attempts at suicide as steadily increased, thus, 386, 388, 448.

Let us now imagine that a would-be suicide has been brought before the magistrate. In a great majority of cases these kindly, conscientious, hard-worked men remanded them for a week, that the chaplain of Clerkenwell Prison, or, as it was formerly called, the Middlesex House of Detention, might endeavour to make them understand the folly and sin of their act, and might see if in any way they can be aided to begin a better life. He visits them daily, sees and writes to their relations, finds Homes or other institutions for deserving cases where such help is necessary, in other ways helps them, temporally as well as spiritually; and in each case he writes to the commit-

ting magistrate his opinion of the case, with a recommendation, which is always carefully and kindly considered, as to its disposal. From the notebooks in which I record the particulars of each case, I have now taken 300 cases of separate individuals, not picked cases, however, but simply taken as they come ; and from these I will draw some facts and figures, leaving others to theorize upon them if they will.

Statistics, for example, as to the sex, condition, occupation, and age of those who committed these attempts, and of their manner and causes, will be found to afford food for thought, and these are as follow :

With regard to *sex*, there is usually a very considerable preponderance of the impulsive female sex, though matters altered in 1885 in this respect.

I find, for example, that of the 300 cases, 117 were males and 183 females ; while if the figures for the decennium 1868-77 are taken, they show 746 males to 1,307 females brought here on this charge. On one day in 1877 I had 15 women under my notice for attempting suicide, either on remand or in default of bail ; while the number of men on the same day was not probably (I am not quite certain) above 5, if so many. This shows, of course, a different state of affairs to that presented by the ordinary records of crime, in which men have always the preponderance. Thus in 1878, there were apprehended in London, for all crimes, 56,122 males and 27,624 females ; while if we deduct the apprehensions for being drunk, or drunk and disorderly—in which departments of crime women are rapidly becoming equal to the men—the proportionate numbers would be more striking, *i.e.*, 37,239 males to 11,099 females. Suicide is therefore seen to be a specially female crime, though some allow

ance must be made for the fact that a man often has more force, both physical and mental, and therefore his attempt is more frequently successful; and again, the sham attempts of silly girls may help to swell the record against their sex.

With regard to the *condition* of these persons, I find that 90 were single, 131 married, 30 widows or widowers, 40 married but separated from their husbands or wives, 40 prostitutes, and 22 living in concubinage. These figures will be found to amount to 353, not 300; but this is attributable to the fact that some persons would come under two categories, *i.e.*, a widow, or even a wife, might also be a prostitute. These may be divided again thus:

Married or in concubinage . . . . .	223	} 353
Single or prostitutes . . . . .	130	

This seems to run on all fours with the canon deducible from other sources, that marriage increases crime in women, but decreases it in men. Thus in the Black Book or register, of 179,601 habitual criminals discharged in 1869-75, it is shown that the relative percentage is as follows:

Married males . . . . .	32·8	} Married females . . . . .	59·12
Single males . . . . .	67·2		40·88

With regard to the *trade or occupation* of persons taken into custody on this charge, I observe that in 1877, of 388 who had attempted suicide, 212 were of no trade or occupation (*i.e.*, married women and prostitutes chiefly), 33 were labourers, and 30 servants, leaving only 113 artisans, tradesmen, &c. It must be noted, however, that in the higher classes of society attempts are most

frequently made at home, and are hushed up, or do not come under the notice of the police.

Their *ages* varied from 15 to 88, every year being represented from 15 to 47, even to 60, with the exception of 48 and 57. (While writing, I have a case under my notice of a boy, aged 13, remanded for this offence.) Beyond 60, the years 65, 67, 69, 73, 83, and 88 are represented by one case each.

The decade to 20 years inclusive contains 37 cases.

30	124
40	61
50	44
60	28
70	3
80	1
90	2

300

It is to be noted that suicide therefore presents no exception to the rule that the decade from 20 to 30 years is the worst for nearly every species of crime.

With regard to the ages most represented—the favourite age, so to speak, for suicide—there were—

21 cases of persons 22 years old		11 cases of persons 21 years old	
15	23	11	25
14	30	11	42
13	26	10	24
12	18	10	29
12	27	10	31

The ages which came next in order, as represented by attempts at suicide, were 19, 28, 32, 36 (8 cases each), 38, 53 (7 cases), 33, 40, 46 (6 cases), 20, 34, 41, 43, 44, 58 (5 cases), 16, 35, 37, 39, 47, 55, 60 (4 cases), 17, 45,



59, 52 (3 cases), 50, 56 (2 cases), and the years 15, 51, 54, 59, 65, 67, 69, 73, 83, and 88, one case only each.

*The manner* in which these attempts were made is as follows :

Attempts to drown . . . . .	138	Throwing self from window . .	6
Poison . . . . .	58	Throwing self before train . .	2
Strangling or hanging . . . .	49	Throwing self before carriage .	1
Cutting throat . . . . .	36	Shooting . . . . .	1
Stabbing self . . . . .	1	Poison and cutting arm . . .	1

It must be remembered, of course, that the majority of attempts at shooting oneself are unhappily successful, and therefore the number of attempts in this manner do not represent the proportion in which this form of suicide prevails. It is said also by those of wide experience that they remember no instance of a person twice attempting his or her life by firearms. It may be noted also that women have an aversion to shed blood, very rarely cutting their throat, and only in one case of the eight of stabbing was the offender a woman.

#### CAUSES OF 300 CASES.

144 Simple drunkenness of prisoner.	145	169	172
1 Chloral drunkard.			
15 Drunk and quarrel with husband.	24		
2 Drunk and quarrel with wife.			
1 Drunk and quarrel with son.			
5 Drunk and bad husband.	3		
1 Drunk and deserted by concubine.			
1 Annoyance by drunken wife.			
1 Brutality of drunken father.			
1 Persecution by drunken husband who had deserted her.			
40 Depression from destitution, debt, disease, distress, &c.			
41 Unknown or doubtful.			

- 
- 8 Bad temper.
  - 7 Jealousy or jilting.
  - 5 Insane at the time.
  - 2 Poison by mistake.
  - 2 Too strong dose of poisonous medicine.
  - 2 Quarrel with husband.
  - 2 Quarrel with paramour.
  - 2 Deserted by husband.
  - 2 Deserted by paramour.
  - 3 Bad husband.
  - 2 Brutality of paramour.
  - 1 Infidelity to husband.
  - 1 Unkindness of stepfather.
  - 1 Loss of hoard.
  - 1 Apparently no intention of suicide.
  - 1 To frighten wife.
- 

300

The large proportion of the cases attributable to drunkenness will not fail to attract notice, 145 being caused apparently by nothing else ; as when the deed is committed in a fit of *delirium tremens*, or when, as is the case in very many instances, a prisoner (usually a woman in this kind of attempt) is apprehended for drunkenness, and attempts self-strangulation in the police cell or van. In 24 additional cases a quarrel or grievance is super-added to drunkenness as a cause, and 3 others are attributable to the drunkenness, not of the prisoner, but of another who made life a misery to the would-be suicide. There is no doubt also that a more accurate knowledge of the cases would have caused some of the 41 described as of unknown or doubtful cause to be transferred to the account of the facilities afforded for and the social fashions of drinking. Occasionally, however, a far higher proportion may be thus ascribed to intemperance. It happened, for example, that in July, 1878, there were brought to the

prison 28 cases of attempted suicide, which present the following facts :

1. Woman, 59, canal, drink.
2. Woman, 25, canal; husband admits his drunkenness and brutality.
3. Woman, 31, strangling, drink.
4. Woman, 32, canal, drink, often in prison for drink.
5. Man, 42, river, *delirium tremens*.
6. Woman, 29, strangling in cell when apprehended for drink; frequently punished for drink.
7. Man, 26, poison, four or five years' hard drinking; a raving maniac for five days after admission owing to *delirium tremens*.
8. Man, 27, canal, 16 times in prison for drink.
9. Woman, 48, strangling in cell when apprehended for drink.
10. Woman, 38, canal, debt and misery from a drunken and idle husband.
11. Woman, 34, strangling in cell when apprehended for drink.
12. Woman, 38, river, not apparently due to drink.
13. Man, 18, dock, drink.
14. Woman, 27, throat, drinking all week.
15. Man, 61, river, apparently not due to drink.
16. Man, 34, river, drink.
17. Man, 26, throat, drink.
18. Woman, 17, canal, not primarily due to drink, but had stolen brandy and wine.
19. Woman, 63, canal, drink; habit of pawning husband's clothes for drink.
20. Man, 31, canal, drink; spent £2 therein in three days though only a day labourer.
21. Woman, 47, canal, drink.
22. Woman, 30, canal; left husband 11 times from his drunken cruelty.
23. Woman, 27, strangling, not apparently due to drink.
24. Man, 28, poison, hard drinking for a year.
25. Woman, 21, strangling when apprehended for drink.
26. Woman, 26, pond, drink.
27. Woman, 30, strangling when apprehended for drink.
28. Man, 31, poison, drink.

That is, 21 cases plainly caused by the drunkenness of the prisoner, 3 due to the intemperance and brutality of husbands, 1 partially caused by drink, and only 3 not apparently due directly or indirectly to intemperance.

When those who have attempted self-murder are but children, one would naturally imagine that intemperance would almost disappear as a cause. Not so, unfortunately. I group together 46 consecutive cases of those who were under 18 years of age, and yet remanded for this offence, 12 being boys and 34 girls ; one being 13, two 14, six 15, fourteen 16, and twenty-three 17 years old ; and amongst these children who ought all to have been in Bands of Hope, if not still at school, I find these cases in which intemperance has directly or indirectly prompted their unnatural crime.

*1. Directly drink-caused.*

Boy, 17, took laudanum ; has been in prison before for drink ; cloddy, from Oxfordshire, out of work.

Girl, 16, sexual and suicidal, often apprehended for threatening suicide, also for being drunk ; illiterate, not responsible at times for her actions ; living with her parents, but not brought up by them.

Boy, 17, cut his throat when drunk ; does not even know his letters ; in the militia ; parents intemperate ; father died three weeks ago.

Girl, 17, confirmed drunkard ; father drinks ; dishonest and rebellious ; into canal because shut out from home for bad conduct ; has been in a Home, but headed revolt and left.

Girl, 17, immoral, drinks, attempted drowning after a quarrel with a friend.

Girl, 14, into the Serpentine ; shut out from her lodgings because drunk ; elder sister immoral.

Girl, 17, workhouse-reared ; has been in prison for theft and drink ; into the fountains in Trafalgar Square because miserable on the streets and mother would not have her home.

Boy, 17, took poison after being on the drink for a week ; mother drinks much.

Boy, 17, returned from militia and found his brother in prison, therefore went on the drink ; illiterate, epileptic, orphan.

Boy, 17, out of work, no food for two days ; friends gave drink and threepence, with which he bought poison ; slow and foolish, bad company, left home.

*2. Indirectly drink-caused.*

Boy, 15, recently in prison for robbing his uncle, attempted suicide when in prison ; now took phosphorus paste ; father died in asylum, mother living with a married man ; was three years in one industrial school, has been in two others ; put in a Home, but ran away ; also absconded from Shoeblack Brigade and from a ship which the magistrate got for him ; has water on the brain ; sings in the streets ; asked his mother, who was drinking in a public-house, for threepence for bread ; she wished he might be struck dead, and then she would give every one a pint of beer to follow his funeral.

Girl, 16, servant, poison ; afraid of father's correction for bad hours and company ; seduced by sweetheart ; father several times in prison for drunken assaults.

Girl, 16, servant, into canal because mistress would not recommend her ; silly and pert ; mother says she was always excitable ; father drinks.

Girl, 17, stopped out all night from her place ; into river ; grandmother in asylum, father doing 20 years for (ineffectually) cutting her mother's throat ; brought up in an industrial school ; stubborn and silly.

Girl, 16, servant in public-houses ; seduced ; upset by threats of woman who had aided her immorality more than a year ago ; stubborn and silly, threatened to drown herself.

And in other cases I have little doubt that a more intimate knowledge of the habits and character of parents would have revealed the existence of intemperance in a previous generation as the cause of the mental and physical state which caused suicide to be contemplated.

Nor should one omit to notice that those engaged in the liquor traffic, and especially the white slaves behind the bar, surrounded by temptation and forced to labour beyond the hours of any other occupation in England,

furnish more than their due quota to the number of those who attempt suicide. Looking over the notes of one year, I find the following cases :

1. Potman, aged 50, allowed four pints a day, and "has a little drop besides ;" his master, who used to drink much, died suddenly a few days ago, and this and the fear of an unfounded charge made him try to poison himself.

2. Potman, 26, five weeks on the drink ; tried to cut his throat while suffering from *delirium tremens* ; allowed three pints a day, but gets much treated by customers.

3. Cabman, 50, was barman, lost his place through drink ; "over-persuaded to take a drop, and then must have more ;" a slight touch of *delirium tremens* for the second time, and therefore threatened suicide on a bridge.

4. Barman, 37, nearly lost his life through poison in consequence of debt contracted in order to take a beerhouse ; over 20 years in the trade ; has failed thrice.

5. Barman, 25, had seven or eight places ; did not keep the last a day through getting drunk ; pawned his overcoat for more drink, and then tried to drown himself at midnight. (I got his friends to send him to Canada, where he is now working hard and happily in a safer trade.)

6. Publican, 53, 20 years in the trade, took poison through losses ; gave £1,800 (£720 of which his own) for his first house ; now tries in vain for a managership. "The Blue Ribbon Army is ruining the business, and the increase of places of public amusement, coffee-shops, and reading-rooms ; one house that used to take £100 a week is now not taking £40."

7. Woman, 42, twice married to publicans ; drinking for a week ; into the Thames. Husband says she has been drinking three or four years, and has threatened suicide before ; once abstained for five weeks with her husband, but broke the pledge because he did ; lost much money in the trade.

8. Barman, 22, lost place for giving drink away ; lost his savings (£80) at betting on horse-races ; therefore "had the miseries," and attempted suicide.

9. Potman, 43, allowed three pints daily, but drinks much more ; hung himself up in the cellar. His place never opens on Sunday, because situated in a part of the city where there is no trade.

10. Barmaid, 23, in the trade since 15; her four sisters were barmaids; walked several miles to jump off London Bridge; excited by champagne, given by her employers, and stout taken twice afterwards; has lost three places through drunkenness; hates the bar, because one has no Sunday and no time to oneself, and has to hear such bad language.

11. Woman, 29, deserted by her husband; since barmaid, and then immoral; cruelty of drunken paramour the cause of her attempt.

12. Woman, 23, was barmaid, but now drunken and immoral; twice in for attempting suicide.

13. Barman, 23, second time in for the offence; cannot drink beer, but has about five glasses of gin a day, sometimes more; cannot get out of drinking unless he leaves the trade, which he dislikes; no church-going possible; gets to bed at 2 or 3 a.m. on Saturday nights; in the bar at 12.15 on Sunday, to get ready for 1 p.m. opening; house opens 1 to 3 and 6 to 11 on Sundays; gets off from 3 to 6 one Sunday and from 3 to 8 another, and once a month has, on a weekday, a holiday from noon.

14. Woman, 44, periodical dipsomaniac; husband was an hotel-keeper, and died lately from drinking; only drinks beer, but craving for it fearful when once it is taken; had *delirium tremens* four years ago; "If I once touch it, I can't abstain." (She was penitent, and I placed her in a Home, with the result that for several years now she has been an abstainer and earning her living.)

15. Barman and waiter, 26; *delirium tremens*; two months in hospital from cutting his throat.

16. Barman and potman, 20, attempted to hang himself in the public-house; 10s. a week wages and three pints daily; only off on Sundays from 3 to 6, and every third Sunday from 1.30 to 10.30 p.m.

17. Hotel waiter, 42, drunk on Waterloo Bridge, threatening suicide; hours, 7 a.m. to 12.30 p.m., and 8 a.m. to midnight on Sundays; is off every third Sunday from noon.

There are, of course, many remote causes of the crime which cannot now be even enumerated; but three that do not appear upon the list given above must be mentioned. First, heredity. My inquiries have not been

specially directed into this channel, and such a cause would be found, of course, chiefly amongst those who had a decided suicidal mania, which is not the case with more than a very small fraction of those who once, or even several times, attempt suicide. One case, however, may be mentioned : W. C. H., aged 50, a labourer, who had four times attempted, at last committed suicide by drowning himself ; a brother had drowned himself at the same spot ; a sister poisoned herself ; and another sister had attempted suicide. Amongst the 300 cases I find but two in which heredity may be suspected, though I have not usually made inquiries as to this point. One man had an uncle who had poisoned himself, and a grandfather who cut his throat, both under the influence of drink ; and a woman said her father had blown his brains out about a year before her attempt to poison herself. The temperament and dispositions, however, which prompt or incline to suicide are, no doubt, matters of transmission from parents who have not taught or transmitted the power of self-government and the reverence for life which they themselves did not possess. Secondly, I cannot doubt but that the sentimental glamour thrown over suicide by some poets and novelists has had an evil result, which they would be eager to deprecate. I distinctly assert, for example, my belief that the poem of T. Hood, "The Bridge of Sighs," written with the sole object of evoking charity for the despised, has yet, with a certain class, tinged suicide with a halo of romance, and afforded a justification of cowardice and crime to the unreasoning and hysterical. Thirdly, many of the attempts that have come under my notice are certainly attributable to the ordinary violently exaggerated language of parents, perhaps especially mothers,



of the poorer classes. "I'll break every bone in your body," is an ordinary way of expressing displeasure at some trivial offence of a child; and no one who has been forced to overhear "a few family words" will wonder how that deed of violence, which is threatened with no intention whatever of accomplishment, becomes in a less guarded moment the suggestion of a crime which is familiar in language, though never really contemplated hitherto in act. Brought up in an atmosphere of threats against life, what wonder if children proceed from the sin of word to that of deed?

The next point to notice is the influence of the seasons upon this crime, a subject obviously difficult to determine. It appears, however, from books kept by my predecessors and by myself, that in the decennium 1868-77, there were nearly exactly 1,900 cases brought to the notice of the chaplain. Of these, 377 came in during the first quarter of the year, 542 during the second, 561 during the third, and 420 during the last. The first or winter quarter is thus 184 under the third or summer quarter; or to divide the year into halves, there were in the half year, October to March, 797 cases, and from April to September, 1,103, a difference of 306. All crime is greater, or at least the total amount of crime is greater, during the summer half of the year, but yet the disproportion is not so marked as that we find in the one item of suicide. I believe, considering that nearly half the cases are those of seeking a watery grave, the difference of the temperature of the water has much to do with the matter. There is occasionally an epidemic or local outbreak of this, as of most other crime. Thus the *Lancet* drew attention once to the fact that no less than 16 cases of suicide were registered in London in the week

ending August 16, 1879, whereas the corrected weekly average is scarcely six. In the four weeks ending on that day, 51 suicides were recorded in the metropolis, the corrected average of the corresponding period of the last ten years being but 22.

An uncle of mine, who was coroner for a large country district, used to say that whenever a suicide had occurred in one place, he made his arrangements to visit the same again soon, as suicide is like marriage in respect to one making many.

It might, perhaps, be imagined that suicides in prison were of not infrequent occurrence, especially when the shame of detection was fresh and the fear of punishment greater even than the reality is found to be. This is not, however, the case. In ten years up to 1880, for example, 85,015 persons entered the Clerkenwell Prison, and there were only ten cases of suicide; and in Coldbath Fields, into which came 34,437 male convicted prisoners in the years 1867-8-9, there were but two deaths ascribed to this cause.

A perusal of the Second and Third Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Prisons will show how minutely and anxiously they have gone into the question of prison suicides, making inquiries, rules, and suggestions of many kinds, with a view to prevent these lamentable occurrences. Not only is there of necessity an inquest held on every death in prison, but now, after every suicide, separate reports are required on the case from the governor, the chaplain, and the surgeon, in which not only details are given of what actually happened, and how it occurred, but also every care is taken to discover the motive which prompted the fatal act. And that they are decreasing in consequence of greater vigilance and care, and from the

abolition of small prisons, appears from the remark of the Medical Inspector in the Second Report: "Fourteen prisoners committed suicide during the year, against twenty-five in the year ending September 29, 1877, the last year for which statistics have been published." And in the Third Report we find: "The deaths by suicide were five less than in the previous year, and rather more than two less than the average of the previous five years." And a remarkable point is this, that the number of suicides in local prisons is about four times that of the convict prisons, a fact that destroys a common and not unnatural impression, that hard labour and, above all, the long monotony of prison-life, tends to suicide. Thus in the five and a half years, ending March 31, 1879, the convict prisons, with an average population of 10,000, had ten suicides; and in the local prisons, with an average of 20,000, the number was eighty-one. It is the anticipation of evil, vague, and untried, that herein, as in other matters, is harder to bear than the actual burden when it comes. So the Medical Inspector points out that the high figures of suicide he finds for Clerkenwell Prison are probably explained by the fact that it is chiefly used for the detention of those on remand or awaiting trial; and "that the number of its inmates tortured by suspense and anxiety, and constantly undergoing various forms of acute mental suffering, was much larger in proportion to its population than in ordinary prisons." This being so, it points to considerable care, and the absence of any unnecessary disposing causes, that we find in this prison in 1880, out of 18,597 admissions, only three suicides occurred. In 1882, out of 20,422 admissions, there was only one suicide. In 1883 there was not one. In 1884 but one, and in 1885 again none. These facts might have earned

for the officers of the prison some thanks from the Commissioners had thanks ever been given for anything.

Others, again, might imagine that no attempts could be successful if a sufficient watch were kept. When a person from any cause or reason is supposed to be not unlikely to attempt self-destruction he is, in Clerkenwell at least, placed in a "special" cell into which a light is cast all night, so that frequently during every hour the warder's eye is applied to the inspection hole in his door, and suicides or attempts in such cells are rare. But in other cases it seems simply impossible, with the utmost ingenuity and vigilance, to prevent such deeds. Even if no bar or pipe were accessible, a shirt torn into strips will afford means of self-strangulation, and in some terrible cases a sudden leap from a gallery affords a way to death which none can stop. Where there is a will there is a way is unfortunately true in this as in almost every other respect. For example, an officer was once standing by the bedside of a prisoner, talking to him, and, noticing that his face became purple, he tore off the bed-clothes to discover that the man had made a rope of his sheet, put one loop round his neck, and was pulling it tight by means of inserting his foot into another noose at the other end. Very often, of course, such attempts are mere pretence, and all the prisoner desires is to make a fuss, or perhaps to produce such indisposition as may cause his removal to the infirmary. One wretched lad I remember who used frequently to tie something tightly round his neck, and then ring the bell to attract attention! Unfortunately, however, he tried this once too often, and was found dead beneath the handle of the bell, not having had, I am persuaded (though he was the most hopelessly bad prisoner), the least intention of succeeding.

It is said of a stalwart warder from the Sister Isle, that he once found a man of this kind hanging in his cell at an hour when he knew well that his cell door was about to be opened for chapel. Exclaiming, "I'll tache ye to commit suicide," he took off his uniform belt, and so belaboured the man before he cut him down that never again was the man known to indulge in this pastime. It is satisfactory to know that in every case of death in a prison a coroner's inquest must be held, and the most critical or suspicious juryman can never find a really preventible means or facility by which suicide is accomplished.

Many also of the cases which appear in the police-courts, and figure in my list and tables, are simply shams. Hysterical girls make demonstrations on the Embankment, and a pail of water over their finery would often be more efficacious a deterrent or cure than the notoriety they gain (and perhaps seek) by apprehension. The words of Dickens will be remembered with regard to the bridge in Old Gravel Lane, which, to the disgrace of St. George's-in-the-East or Dock authorities, is still allowed to be a favourite and undefended spot for suicides :—

"I found myself on a swing bridge, looking down at some dark locks in some dirty water. Over against me stood a creature remotely in the likeness of a young man. I asked the apparition what it called the place. Unto which it replied, with a ghastly grin and a sound like gurgling water in its throat, 'Mister Baker's trap.' Inspiration suggested that Mr. Baker was the coroner of the neighbourhood. 'A common place for suicide?' said I, looking down at the locks. 'Sue?' returned the ghost with a stare, 'Yes! and Poll: likewise Emily and Nancy: and Jane: always a headering down here, they is. On'y mind you, there must be somebody comin'. They don't go a headering down here wen they ain't no bobby nor gen'ral cove fur to hear the splash.'"

I have already mentioned suicidal mania, which I consider rare; but yet the subject of suicides in prison brings to my mind a case which aptly illustrates both.

The girl in question was, when I knew her first, about seventeen, and had previously been in prison five times, including twice for attempting suicide. Her parents and home were utterly bad, and she herself quiet, but weak and sullen. She came to my notice first under a punishment of two months, in default of bail, for attempting suicide (the third time). On discharge she soon attempted twice again, and was remanded to Horse-monger Lane Prison. In a month or so she reappeared here for attempts in a canal and in the police-cell, and got six months. She attempted to strangle herself a few days after entrance, once in the next month, seven or eight times in the next, and, finally, on the day before her discharge, having preferred to return to her parents, though over and over I had tried to get her to go into a Home. Two days after, she got a month's hard labour for being drunk and attempting suicide, and thence came to us for six months. She attempted here twice, though, on the latter occasion, her hands were confined by leather straps, owing to the determined nature of her previous attempt. On discharge I sent her to a Home, but she left, and, in two weeks, attempted to buy poison, and twice tried to strangle herself in the police-cell. After a week's remand I tried another Home for her, but there she threatened suicide and left. Very soon she was in again for attempting to drown herself and making three attempts in the police-cell. She then got six months' hard labour, attempted her life again, and from prison was sent to an asylum, where she is now, I believe. I knew of her attempting her life twenty-eight times in two years;

every means had been tried with her, but no doctor would, or could, ever certify that she was insane in the legal sense of the word. This, however, was at last done, and she spent nearly three years in an asylum. Discharged thence in July, 1881, she was again in Clerkenwell in November for taking poison, and then was sent to the workhouse as insane.

I may here note that of the 300 cases I have tabulated, twenty-one had attempted their life on more than one occasion.

It is worthy of note that the impression (greatly justified by facts) which prevails among the class from which most of these cases come, that the punishment for the crime is merely a week's detention and a lecture, has a bad effect by causing the persons to think lightly of the crime, and even to repeat it on the next occasion of irritation or apprehension. An alderman was once derided for expressing his intention of putting down suicide, but he probably meant, what is undoubtedly true, that some real punishment, inflicted as a rule, would be a strong deterrent to those who are unable or unused to see moral crime in what is ignored or treated lightly by the law of the land. I firmly believe that if it became the exception instead of the rule for such offences to escape a period of hard labour, the numbers of attempts would at once, and to a remarkable extent, diminish. In the journal of a previous chaplain of Clerkenwell I find this passage: "Amongst the lists of attempted suicides will be found the names of certain offenders who have been committed for trial at the Middlesex Sessions. These were old offenders and determined drinkers. They were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment, and it is worthy of note that no female was, for the un-

usual space of five weeks after the last sentence passed, committed to this prison for a similar offence." None for five weeks ! I cannot recall five days having been thus marked during my ten years of office.

That the legal, or perhaps the public, mind is at present irrational with regard to this crime needs no further illustration than that afforded by the fact that an attempt at suicide, *if successful*, is almost universally said by coroners and their juries to be due to temporary insanity, while, *if unsuccessful*, the chaplain or doctor would be simply derided who hinted at insanity, temporary or otherwise, as existing, or having existed, in the case. The truest kindness would, I believe, be found in more seeming severity in the attitude of the law, of moralists, and of society, towards this form of murder, which is often more cowardly and less frequently followed by real penitence than those forms of the offence which are expiated on the scaffold.







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